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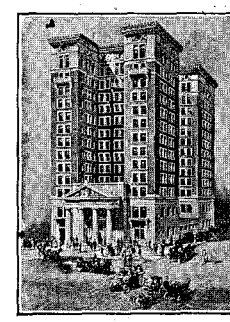

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1906

For Political Freedom in the South

One of the most important of recent political speeches was delivered on Monday of last week at Greensboro, North Carolina, by Secretary Taft. Nominally addressed to the Republicans of the State, it was really made before an audience consisting of both Republicans and Democrats. Mr. Taft pointedly described the state of impotence in National affairs to which the South had subjected itself by its indiscriminating allegiance to one political party. "Unfounded alarm over an impossible return of Reconstruction days" had kept Southerners who were really believers in Republican principles united in support of the Democratic party. All cause for fear of negro domination, however, had been removed by the adoption of suffrage qualifications which "made the law square with the existing conditions" and excluded negroes from the ballot. Of this he said:

> It is impossible to frame a law establishing an educational qualification for suffrage which will stand the test of the Fifteenth Amendment, and which will not ultimately operate, no matter what the qualification or present effect, to exclude impartially the negroes and whites from the ballot who lack educational acquirement. Government is established to secure the greatest good for the greatest number. . . . When a class of persons is so ignorant and so subject to oppression and misleading that they are merely political children, not having the mental stature of manhood, then their voice in the government secures no benefit to them. A policy, therefore, in the South which excludes from the ballot impartially both the black and white, when ignorant and irresponsible, cannot be criticised.

Of the temporary provisions admitting illiterate whites and excluding illiterate negroes, he expressed the opinion that they did not render the negroes' position hopeless; indeed, that under them the negroes would "secure more real influence for the benefit of their race than when the right of suffrage of the negro was wholly unrestricted." Continuing, Mr. Taft, with equal adroitness and candor, pointed out how the economic interests of the South were favored by the policy of the Republican party in its advocacy of protection, its acquirement of the Panama Canal, and its support of order in Santo Domingo; and yet how the political representatives of the South, kept in office by an appeal to a past issue, opposed all three projects and succeeded in blocking the third. And then, with characteristic plainness of speech, applying his lesson to those whom he was addressing, he laid the responsibility for the solid South upon the members in the South of his own party. Southerners will not abandon one party, he declared, to support another engaged merely in striving to get offices from the Federal Government. The substance of that lesson he put in this one frank sentence:

> As long, however, as the Republican party in the Southern States shall represent little save a factional chase for Federal offices, in which business men and men of substance in the community have no desire to enter, and in the result of which they have no interest, we may expect the present political conditions of the South to continue.

It is doubtful whether Southern politicians, Republican or Democratic, will pay much heed to this speech except to misuse it for their own purposes. They are, both alike, interested in the maintenance of the present status: the Democratic office-holders because they want to keep the State and local offices without being under the necessity of meeting live issues; the Republican office-holders because they want to keep the Federal offices within the confines of their own little group. Nevertheless the speech cannot be without wholesome effect. Put side by side with Mr. Fleming's address at the University of Georgia,

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which we outlined in The Outlook last week, it indicates that the South and the North, once estranged on the questions involved, are now discussing them dispassionately because they are recognizing and trying to understand one another's point of view.

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Lawyers' Judges

In nominating candidates for the thirteen judgeships to be filled at the autumn election, a public service of more than mere local interest has been performed by the Lawyers' Committee of members of the Bar of the County of New York in New York State. The character and efficiency of the administration of justice in New York County for the next fourteen years will be largely determined by the new judges; hence every citizen of the county is interested in electing to the bench lawyers not only of ability and professional experience, but also of character and independence. Hitherto the candidates of the party organizations, however estimable personally, have frequently been selected because of party service or political influence; often character and even professional capacity have been disregarded, and, as a condition of nomination, large payments of money have often been exacted from the candidates. The lawyers now nominated are put forward with confidence that their records will stand searching. While it is necessary that judicial positions should be filled by lawyers of proved ability, they should also be men of political independence. In response to this general demand on the part both of the Bar and the public, a committee of representative lawyers has sifted names from among a couple of hundred selected on their invitation. The Committee is headed by the Hon. Joseph H. Choate as chairman and by Judge Alton B. Parker as vice-chairman; it includes among others such honored names as those of Elihu Root, John E. Parsons, Edmund Wetmore, John G. Milburn, William B. Hornblower, William B. Guthrie, Charles E. Hughes, George L. Rives, and Edward M. Shepard. Such names are a sufficient guarantee of the character and ability of the men put in nomination. As we state elsewhere, there is another trait in the judges which is, unfortunately, not sufficiently prized—the largeness of view which places the doing of substantial justice above any merely professional merit. We hope this trait has also been regarded in the naming of these men. While they will be placed in nomination by petition as independent candidates, we hope that the political parties of New York County and State may comprehend the advantage of indorsing such a ticket, and that the political bosses of other States will see "the handwriting on the wall," should Bar Associations in other cities follow the praiseworthy example of the Association in New York.

❀

Nominations for Insurance Trustees

The "administration" ticket, as it is legally called, for the Board of Trustees of the New York Life Insurance Company has been announced. Some of the candidates are men of National reputation. Among the more notable are Mr. James H. Eckels, formerly Comptroller of the Currency under President Cleveland, and now President of the Commercial National Bank of Chicago; Mr. David R. Francis, President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis; and Mr. John G. Milburn, a lawyer of high standing, in whose house at Buffalo President McKinley died. The majority on the ticket are new men, not previously on the Board. We have already recorded the formation of the International Policy-Holders' Committee, to name tickets of trustees for the New York Life and the Mutual Life. This Committee met and organized in New York City last week. Its official utterance, issued at the time of its meeting, is distinctly antagonistic to the present management. It is yet, however, to make its nominations. A purely personal campaign between rival tickets of men equally well known for probity and ability is extremely undesirable; and it is also undesirable that the management of such a concern should fall into the hands of absolutely new, untried, and inexperienced men. Both these misfortunes could be averted if the Policy-Holders' Committee would

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either confer with the present management, or would nominate on their own ticket all of the management's ticket that they are willing to indorse.

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Limiting the Number of Saloons

Chicago is about to try an experiment in saloon policy the working out of which will have an interest for the entire country. The City Council recently passed an ordinance which provides that after July 31 of this year no more saloon licenses shall be issued until after the ratio of saloons to population shall be one to five hundred persons. At the present time, despite the recent increase of the saloon license fee from $500 to $1,000, the ratio of saloons to population is one to two hundred and fifty. The population must double, therefore, before any more saloon licenses may be issued. In explanation of the seemingly large proportion of saloons to population in Chicago it should be said that in that city restaurants, hotels, and clubs that serve liquor are classed as saloons, and are required to pay the same license fee as the regular dram-shop. All licenses in effect July 31 shall be renewable to the persons holding them, or may be transferred, subject to the condition that the person receiving the license can meet the requirements of the original licensee. The arguments used in support of the proposition when pending in the Council were that it would reduce the number of saloons and give the city authorities more effective control over the saloons remaining. The Mayor has the power to revoke saloon licenses where a place is so conducted as to become a special offense to the public. In view of the limitation of the number of saloons and the power of transfer, it is likely that a saloon license in Chicago under the new conditions will soon come to have a pecuniary value to its holder, and that in consequence he would be much more likely to conduct his place in such a manner as not to invite revocation of his license by the Mayor. The objection raised to the ordinance was that it conferred upon the holder of a saloon license something in the nature of a franchise value, which should by right be retained by the public. Instead of allowing the saloon-keeper to retain this value as his asset, the critics who agreed to the limitation principle wanted provision made for the sale of licenses by the city to the highest bidder. This is practically what is done in Los Angeles, where the number of saloon licenses is arbitrarily limited to two hundred, but not in this case including restaurants and clubs. In Los Angeles the city authorities follow an extra-legal practice of giving a saloon license, when one is available, to the applicant who will pay the largest bonus therefor.

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San Francisco Wide Open

For two months and a half San Francisco has been a model city in the two vital respects of health and good order. The outdoor life of forty thousand of its people, and the excellent sanitary regulations enforced by the army in co-operation with the city's health officials, have kept the city freer from disease than it has been in years. The prompt and thorough closing of the saloons and all the other sources of intoxicating liquors has undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to this result, as it has also been the prime cause of an unprecedented condition of peace and orderliness. The city has been conspicuously free from all kinds of violence and crime. Saloons have now reopened, and grave results are feared under the conditions of living, which must remain far from normal for a long time to come. The city government has initiated a policy of high license, in the hope of accomplishing several results. It is believed that the large license fee will drive out of the liquor business the grocery and other stores whose annexes were as profitable as they were demoralizing in their influence. The income from the increased licenses, which on two thousand, the number already applied for, would amount to a million dollars a year, will be a welcome addition to the city's revenue, at a time when the need is great. The former license fee was $84 per year, and it has now been raised to $500. A thousand saloons have been opened. Many of the applications are for places

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not yet in existence, which will be housed in roughly built shacks in the burned district and elsewhere. Reports from presumably reliable sources indicate an expectation on the part of many of an outbreak of violence and disorder, and an attempt to prepare for it. For several weeks clergymen have been advising women living in the camps to procure firearms. It is even said that the police have been counseling citizens to carry weapons when on the streets at night, and to have them handy in their homes. The need for such precautions is felt most strongly in the camps, where in many cases women are living alone or with only other women in the family. Tents have no doors that can be locked, and their occupants are defenseless against annoyance and possibly more serious dangers. The active police force, it is reported, has been largely reduced since the disaster, as a matter of economy, and there are not sufficient men available to guard the camps. The lack of privacy, too, in the communities of the refugees will make it particularly hard for wives and mothers who suffer from the intemperance of their husbands and sons. Their family disgrace will be public property. The experience of Oakland when its saloons were first opened shows what San Francisco may almost certainly expect. Although the saloons were closed strictly at seven o'clock, and soldiers were still patrolling the streets, the city was filled with drunken men, and the jails were so crowded that the yards had to be used as pens. San Francisco's saloons, however, have been opened wide, with no restrictions as to hours; their doors may swing night and day, as they have done for years. The relation which the saloon bears to society is indicated by the condition of San Francisco without it, and the dread with which its return is viewed.

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The Preservation of Niagara Falls

The hearing before the Secretary of War at Niagara Falls last week recalls the enactment, at the recent session of Congress, of the bill for the preservation of the Falls as a feature of scenic beauty. This bill, introduced by Representative Burton, was approved by the President on June 29. It prohibits the diversion of water from the Niagara River or its tributaries except with the consent of the Secretary of War. He is authorized to grant permits for the diversion of water for the creation of power to an aggregate amount not exceeding 15,600 cubic feet a second, and to grant permits for the transmission of power from the Dominion of Canada into the United States to an aggregate quantity not exceeding 160,000 horse-power. After six months' trial with these amounts the Secretary of War may, in his discretion, grant further revocable permits for the transmission, within definite limits, of additional electrical power from Canada, and for the diversion of additional amounts of water if, in connection with the amount diverted on the Canadian side, their withdrawal will not injure the scenic grandeur of Niagara Falls. The provisions of the act are to remain in force for three years, at the end of which time all the permits granted in accordance with its provisions shall terminate. The act further respectfully requests the President of the United States to open negotiations with the Government of Great Britain for the purpose of effectually providing, by suitable treaty with that Government, for such regulation and control of the waters of Niagara River and its tributaries as will preserve the scenic grandeur of Niagara Falls and of the rapids in the river. The passage of the law was a distinct victory for the American people and for the principle that natural beauty has a no less real value than industrial development. It also establishes the principle that the care of the Falls is not a State but a National or international function.

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The Hearing at Niagara

The hearing at Niagara Falls was held by Secretary Taft for the purpose of properly informing himself upon the existing conditions before granting any permits. The various power and transmission companies were represented by promoters and counsel, who filed applications and briefs. Mr. J. Horace McFarland, the President of the American Civic Association, which organization

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was largely instrumental in the passage of the Burton Bill, was present on behalf of the people. The American members of the International Waterways Commission were also present in an advisory capacity. Mr. McFarland, for the American Civic Association, argued that the law under which the hearing was held was primarily for the preservation of Niagara Falls and in response to an insistent demand of the American people; that there was no disposition to urge the Secretary at this time to use his authority to the extreme and prohibit the diversion of any water; that all water which was authorized to be diverted should be used by the power-developing companies to its full dynamic value, without the waste at present existing in notable instances; that the Secretary should inform himself by statements of disinterested persons as to the effect of diversion on the scenic value of the Falls; that the substantial restriction of Canadian importation would greatly increase the probability of the negotiation of a satisfactory treaty with Great Britain; and that, under his authority to regulate, the Secretary should insist, in issuing permits, that a decent regard be shown by the power-developing and power-transmitting companies for the natural beauties of the Niagara gorge. He pointed out the undoubted existence of a feeling for the acquirement of the whole Niagara neighborhood as a great national park, regardless of its power-producing possibilities, and urged moderation in power use if it was desired to have that use continue. Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson was the chief spokesman for the power-development companies. He alluded to the American Civic Association as "an irresponsible organization," and represented in his speech the attitude common among engineers and expressed at length in Mr. Buck's article in a recent number of The Outlook. He filed for the company which he represented a claim for the diversion of water in excess of the 15,600 cubic feet first permitted to be used by the law. He was followed by other representatives, each of whom argued for the special interests of his company and presented applications for the diversion of water for power-development and for the transmission of power from Canada. Claims for the importation of over 300,000 horse-power were advanced by the various companies, whose counsel indulged in mutual criticisms of not too gentle a nature. After the hearing Secretary Taft visited all the power plants on the American and Canadian sides, inspecting for himself the great installments of machinery and observing the effect upon the natural beauties of Niagara of the buildings and other structures of the companies. From the data which he has obtained in this way, Secretary Taft will decide what permits shall be issued for the next three years.

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The Municipal Situation in Minneapolis

Incredible as it may seem, Dr. Ames, Republican and Democrat by turns, who as Mayor made Minneapolis for a while the favored haunt of vice, and who was forced to flee from the city, has filed his certificate as a candidate for Mayor once more. Mr. David Percy Jones, the man who became Acting Mayor when Dr. Ames was exiled, and who was thereafter elected and has been Mayor since, has announced his intention of again becoming a candidate. At a meeting of Mr. Jones's supporters, when he made his announcement, speaker after speaker described with loyalty the effectiveness of his administration in the enforcement of law and in the maintenance of order. Saloons formerly opened on Sunday, selling on that day at least twenty thousand dollars' worth of alcoholic beverages, were closed. Gambling, which had formerly been carried on in wide-open resorts, was substantially, if not entirely, suppressed. Houses of ill fame were similarly dealt with. Mayor Jones, in brief, brought about a far better order of things than the city had ever known. The contrast of this sort of administration with the state of affairs under Dr. Ames, when the police were made accomplices of the criminals, is one which every citizen can understand. The issue in Minneapolis will once more be vice against restraint. The people of that city have once had their lesson. They surely will not allow any set of men to force them to learn it again.

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The End of the Coal Miners' Suspension

The soft coal operators and mine employees of eastern Ohio and central Pennsylvania, in compromising their differences at joint conferences last week, brought to a close the coal-mining suspension in all the States. Thus of the more than three hundred thousand hard and soft coal mine employees of the United States who quit work on March 31, under the advice of their union leaders, only an insignificantly small number of bituminous coal miners continue in idleness. By far the larger number of the soft coal mine workers have resumed their usual employments in the mines under the provisions of district (State) agreements entered into separately in each district between union officials and representatives of the operators. In each of the districts the United Mine Workers have made some concessions as to conditions of employment, and the operators have restored the 1903 wage scale. This brings to the employees an increase of 5.8 per cent. in wages over those paid the past two years. Although the wage increase is uniform, the concessions on other points by the miners vary in the different States, and the former Inter-State Joint Conference, broken up in March, is still inoperative. Some of the concessions are interesting. The United Mine Workers of the central Pennsylvania district, for instance, have agreed that there shall be no interruption to work on account of grievances, the matter in controversy to be submitted to arbitration; and that the employment of a non-union man shall not be a cause for grievance. This latter provision, however, is not a new one; the union in that district is not as strong as elsewhere. In Michigan the miners' union has agreed to reduce its initiation fee from fifty dollars to ten dollars, thus practically opening the union to any man willing to join. The district conferences have extended through more than three months. For the greater part of this time over one hundred and fifty thousand coal mine workers have been idle in some ten States. The fact of their being scattered over such a wide area accounts largely for the lack of public interest, as reflected in the newspapers, which has been given to this most remarkable phenomenon of our industrial life. This is also due partly to the absence of disorder and lawlessness. To the best of our knowledge there have been only three instances of serious disturbance of the peace, two of these taking place in Pennsylvania and one in Ohio. Under the conditions prevailing in this industry at the beginning of 1906, it is considered possible that if there had been no suspension by the mine workers, the coal mine employees in many States would have been able to find employment for only a part of the time during the summer months. The operators and consumers had an exceptionally large supply of coal on hand. The suspension of mining has reduced this surplus. The peaceable settlement of the suspension is to our minds another evidence of the practicability of the joint conference method of adjusting industrial controversies through the trade agreement, even after the dispute or contest has proceeded to the point of an open rupture of working relations.

❀

Food Inspection Here and Abroad

As a result of the agitation in the United States against uncleanly and unsanitary conditions in Chicago packing-houses, traffic in American canned meats has suffered a check which is serious, even if it proves to be only temporary. European countries, England especially, are visiting upon the packers the consequences of being found out. As a result, however, of the meat inspection law which the agitation secured, American canned meats are certain to be vastly improved in quality and are likely to be the best in the world. President Roosevelt, in response to a statement made by a conference of grocers in Sheffield, England, concerning the necessity for Government certification of canned meats, sent to the American Ambassador the following message:

> You are at liberty to inform the Grocers' Federation that under the new law we can and will guarantee the fitness in all respects of tinned meats bearing the Government stamp. If any trouble arises therewith, pro-

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test can at once be made, not merely to the sellers of the goods, but to the United States Government itself.

No stronger assurance could be made that the meat inspection law will be enforced. This does not mean, of course, that the American Government is going into the meat-packing business; but it does mean that impurity in the product will be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of violation of law, and that the packers and inspectors will be made, by the power of the Federal arm, to render an account for it. The British, who have been especially keen in their criticism of the American packing industry, have, meanwhile, had their complacency somewhat disturbed by the report of the Inspector of Factories and Workshops. He tells of conditions in England as bad as anything revealed in America: of jam-pots washed in foul liquid; of dirty clothes sorted in bakeries; of sausage factories which are dilapidated and unsanitary. The American method of cleaning up publicly may work incidental injury to trade and put a smirch upon the National reputation, but it is effectual. We commend the method to our European cousins.

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The Parliamentary Session at Ottawa

Although there was some noteworthy legislation in the recent session of the Dominion Parliament, in Canada public interest centered more in the work of two or three Parliamentary committees than in legislation. These committees attracted widespread attention because they resulted in damaging exposures for the Laurier Government—exposures which were particularly distressing to the less partisan supporters of the Government in the constituencies. Two of the exposures were in the Immigration Bureau of the Department of the Interior; the third was in the Department of Marine and Fisheries, and had its origin in the equipment of a Government steamer for a cruise in the Arctic seas. Those in the Department of the Interior were most serious, as they implicated the Superintendent of Immigration in London in a discreditable scheme for immigration propaganda in European countries whose Governments are hostile to the work of New World immigration agents; and also in an independent immigration agency in London which attained notoriety in England a year or so ago by reason of its doubtful methods. The first of these agencies was condemned by Lord Strathcona, the Canadian High Commissioner in London. Its promoters considered it necessary, for the sake of secrecy, to organize it under the laws of the little island of Guernsey, and that its contract with the Department of the Interior should be kept secret; and yet it received nearly three hundred thousand dollars from the Dominion Treasury as bonuses for immigrants sent to Canada as the result of the agency's underground proceedings. The Government officials concerned in these two scandals were whitewashed by the Government majority on the committees of inquiry, and again by the Government majority in the House of Commons. So were the officials concerned in the expenditure of $118,000 without public tenders among partisans of the Government in the lavish and extravagant equipment of the Arctic steamer. No present member of the Laurier Cabinet was smirched by the exposures, but there was much disappointment in Canada at the determination of the Government to whitewash the officials concerned. The Liberals came into office in 1896, and until these exposures they had been credited with giving the Dominion a clean government—a government much in contrast in this respect with that which the Tories gave it between 1886 and 1896. These exposures, however, suggest to some critics that the Laurier Government is falling into bad ways. As for the legislation of the session, there was a measure excluding undesirable immigrants, framed largely on the lines of United States legislation; an act which should have the effect of depriving unscrupulous money-lenders of much of the power they have been able to exercise over people who fall into their clutches; and a Lord's Day Observance Act, with many new and far-reaching provisions. The purpose of the last-named measure is to stop Sunday exhibition games, close amusement parks which have been opened by street-car

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companies to develop Sunday traffic, prohibit the sale of all newspapers on Sunday, and penalize all unnecessary work both in manufacturing and in transport services. A motion was made to exempt Jews from the provisions as to Sunday work. It was defeated, and Mr. Aylesworth, the Minister of Justice, in arguing against such an exemption, declared that the fundamental principle of the bill was that Christianity shall be recognized as part of the law of Canada.

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Canada's New Transcontinental Railway

Canada is now preparing to enter upon a new scheme of railway development which involves a stupendous subsidy of $150,000,000. The beginnings of this great plan of opening up Canada's vast Northern and Northwestern territories originated with the Grand Trunk Railway authorities, and were embodied in their proposition to the Canadian Parliament to extend their line across the continent, in consideration of a subsidy aggregating $15,360,000. The Company, moreover, offered to treat the Intercolonial as the eastern section of its line and give it the traffic between Montreal and the seaboard. This proposition would have given Canada another transcontinental line, at the same time probably insuring sufficient trade to the Intercolonial to enable the latter to get on a self-supporting basis—it now costs the country $2,000,000 annually in the shape of a deficit. This proposition, however, was rejected by the Government, which instead placed before the Company a scheme of railway development looking not only to the immediate but the remote future. It planned a railway line which should go five hundred miles north of the one proposed by the Grand Trunk to the Pacific coast, and to be extended through the northern regions of Ontario and Quebec to Quebec City, and thence east to Moncton, New Brunswick. Naturally, this northern road would parallel the Intercolonial and draw away a large portion of its traffic, though, with an eye to the future development of the country it traverses, probably some such great scheme is necessary. Such a road could not possibly pay for many years after its construction, and hence the enormous bonus of $150,000,000 to insure to Canada another great all-British transcontinental route. The Canadian Pacific and the new road now planned will, when the latter is completed, present something of a parallel to the Northern and the Southern Pacific Railway in the United States. In reality, however, the railway power back of the whole gigantic system as planned is the Grand Trunk Railway Company and its creatures, the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company and the Grand Trunk Pacific Branch Lines Company. The Branch Lines Company plans to build twenty-three railways, one running to Hudson Bay, and the others penetrating practically every promising region which naturally in the future would be tributary to the new transcontinental line. The total mileage under the three companies may make a railway system to be the chief factor in developing the Canada of this century. By its selection of Prince Rupert as the Pacific terminus, the Grand Trunk has made its route in its western section more definitely known, and this announcement will probably mean an anticipatory development along that route. Opinion in Canada is naturally divided upon the advisability of the Government's entering upon such a vast scheme.

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American Criticism of Municipal Ownership in Great Britain

The presence in Europe of the committee of the National Civic Federation formed to study municipal ownership in England makes pertinent some account of British opinion on that subject. As long as municipal ownership in Great Britain was criticised in America only in newspapers and reviews, such criticism attracted no attention in Great Britain. The discussions of the belatedness of England as regards street-car mileage and electric lighting stations were not read in England, and English people were in ignorance of the use to which British experience in the ownership of public utilities was being put in this country. The situation was changed, however,

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when criticism was embodied in a book which was published simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. The recently issued monograph on municipal ownership in Great Britain by Mr. Hugo Meyer was the first book of its class so published; and the reviews in English newspapers show that the British are not disposed to take this kind of criticism "lying down." The Glasgow "Herald," which does not always support the progressive municipal corporation of that city, has been quick to point out that Mr. Meyer's book should be described as a "pamphlet written in the interest of American capitalists who are carrying on a struggle for municipal franchises in Great Britain," and to remind the American critic of British municipal policies and methods that "mileage is not equivalent to adequacy;" and that the real test of the two systems —municipal ownership or ownership of the public utilities by private companies—is "which system confers the greatest good on the greatest number." "Even in the United States," continues the Glasgow "Herald," "one would fancy that Mr. Meyer will be asked to explain whether in the matter of the operation of public services he really thinks Philadelphia or Chicago is better served than Glasgow, and what is the relevance of this thesis to the case of those American cities which hanker after municipalization as a means of saving themselves from the moral ruin of their public life." As time goes on, municipal ownership will be increasingly discussed in this country, and it is inevitable that British experience will be increasingly cited by both parties to the controversy.

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Outstanding Facts in British Experience

In view of this prospect, a few facts in connection with British experience should be kept in mind. In Great Britain, outside of the ranks of the few capitalists to whom the Glasgow "Herald" refers, there is no popular questioning of the policy which the British municipalities have adopted. Locally that policy is everywhere accepted as the best, without regard to party politics. The electors in the municipalities are generally agreed upon it; and they elect men to the councils who will carry it out. The Association of Municipal Corporations—a national organization composed of representatives of the municipal councils—is equally agreed upon it; and so are the House of Commons and the two State Departments—the Local Government Board and the Board of Trade—which jointly exercise supervision over municipal affairs. But it should be borne in mind that conditions in the United States and in Great Britain are not alike. England for two generations past has had trained municipal administrators—men who have freely given up a large part of their time to municipal work, and who have become versed in the municipal needs of the towns and cities they serve; and as all the larger British municipalities have deemed it good policy to keep company promoters and franchise exploiters outside of their economy, there are no men in English cities who have great interests hostile to the interests of the municipalities. These men do not exist, because with franchises owned and worked by the cities there is no scope for their schemes and their energies; and it naturally follows that there is no daily press imbued with their ideas and existing to push or protect their enterprises. Moreover, the physical conditions of English cities as well as the temperament of the English people differ from the physical conditions of cities in this country and the temperament of the American people. English towns and cities are old, and are so built that they do not give the same free physical opportunities for street-car undertakings as American cities. The English people also are proverbially slower than Americans to avail themselves of new inventions in any line of industry or enterprise. Besides all this, family for family, English people are much poorer than Americans; and they are compelled to spend less on street-car fares and electric lighting than people do in this country. As yet political conditions in American municipalities do not compare with political conditions in British cities; and while it is beyond doubt that public

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ownership in Great Britain is accepted by the British people as a permanent policy, and as a policy which is meeting their needs in the safest and most satisfactory way, it cannot be said offhand that the British system would work equally satisfactorily in this country. Consequently arguments for or against municipal ownership drawn from British experience need examination before their real applicability to American conditions can be taken for granted.

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Cholera in the Philippines

An outbreak of cholera is reported by the Governor of the Philippines as taking place in Manila and the surrounding provinces. Twenty-one cases and sixteen deaths were reported in Manila on July 3, and twenty-six cases and twenty-five deaths in the provinces. The cases show the most virulent type of the disease, but the officials of the War Department feel the utmost confidence in the ability of the Philippine Public Health Service to meet the situation and to prevent the spread of the disease. In 1902 and 1903 the islands were visited by an epidemic of cholera of terrible proportions, resulting in the death of over a hundred thousand persons. As a result of the work of the medical officers of the army and the Government, the islands were kept free from cholera for sixteen months, from April, 1904, to August, 1905, when a few cases were discovered in Manila. Since the great epidemic a campaign of education has been carried on by the Public Health Service, with the co-operation of other branches of the Government, of the Church and the army. Instructions in sanitation and hygiene and directions to use only boiled water and hot, well-cooked food were translated into Spanish and the more important native dialects as soon as the disease appeared last summer. These directions were printed in circulars and widely distributed. The Department of Instruction caused them to be taught in the schools as regular lessons, and the children were asked to repeat them to their parents. Thousands of copies were sent out by the Roman Catholic priests with excellent effect. Spanish and Filipino physicians showed an admirable spirit in co-operating with the Health Service, reporting cases with such promptness that in several towns the disease was not permitted to make any headway. The army rendered valuable assistance last year by guarding from pollution the Maraquina River, the source of the Manila water supply. The chief difficulty encountered by the health officers in their attempts to establish a strict quarantine and prevent the spread of the disease arises from the suspicious and superstitious character of the ignorant Filipinos. It has always been a hard task, among such people, to induce them to report new cases and to submit to treatment in hospitals. The work of education, however, prosecuted with energy and patience, is slowly overcoming this prejudice. This crusade against the cholera illustrates the constructive character of much, if not most, of the work of the army, the great advance which has been made in recent years in governmental dealing with epidemics, and the sort of service that the United States is rendering to the Filipinos which the Filipinos could not render to themselves.

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Admiral Rojestvensky Acquitted

Last week a welcome despatch from Cronstadt announced that Admiral Rojestvensky, who commanded the Russian fleet in the disastrous battle of the Sea of Japan, and who has lately been on trial by court martial, charged with cowardice, had been acquitted. In September, 1904, Admiral Rojestvensky's fleet of fifty vessels set out from Cronstadt and, after a voyage of seventeen thousand miles, attempted to run through Admiral Togo's fleet in the Tsushima Straits, west of Shimonoseki. The Russian fleet was almost annihilated; the losses to the Japanese navy were insignificant. The management of the Russian fleet was characterized by gross incompetence, insubordination, and cowardice, the only figure to stand out prominently being that of the commanding Admiral, who was desperately wounded early in the engagement. The

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command of the fleet thereupon devolved on Admiral Niebogatov, who hastened to surrender to the Japanese. Grouped around Admiral Rojestvensky, who was lying on the deck, the Japanese boarding crew found his chief of staff and other Russian officers. They were all taken to Sasebo, where Admiral Rojestvensky lay in the hospital for several months. At the conclusion of peace he was sent home. When the trial began at Cronstadt, Admiral Rojestvensky, who since the close of the war has been placed on the retired list at his own request, made a speech to the court, manfully taking all the blame for the surrender of the war-ships and asking that he alone receive the full penalty of the law. His acquittal was found in the face of this plea and was based on the fact that he was not in his senses, and therefore not accountable for what happened, at the time of the surrender. The court condemned four officers to death; the sentence, however, carries with it a recommendation to the Emperor's mercy and a request that the sentence be commuted to dismissal from the service, with the loss of certain rights.

❀

Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand

For several years New Zealand—thirteen thousand miles distant in the South Seas—has been regarded by many people as a kind of Utopia. Its new Prime Minister, Sir Joseph Ward, who has been visiting this country, so describes it. First of all, the New Zealand system of woman suffrage seems to be satisfactory. As to a landed aristocracy, to avoid abuses from which older countries have suffered, the New Zealanders have so legislated that the aggregation of large estates is prevented. The State may acquire estates by compulsion and lease them for production purposes for nine hundred and ninety-nine years; by the creation of this system people have been induced to go into the country instead of settling in cities and creating a class of idlers. As to labor, Sir Joseph protests that New Zealanders do not know the meaning of the term "unemployed," because the opportunity to labor always exists in the interior, information being furnished by a system of employment bureaus under which surplus of labor in one place is reported all over the country; persons registered at the bureaus are transported by the State to the places where there is a dearth of labor. Furthermore, any one over sixty-five years of age receives a pension. The people as organized in a Government, declares Sir Joseph, form the only power which can grapple with these and other problems, hence the Government has assumed ownership and control of railways, telegraphs, telephones, life insurance, etc. Whenever railway earnings increase over a certain percentage, the rates are proportionately lowered; it is by these low rates that the New Zealanders are able to compete with other countries, although they have twelve thousand miles of water between them and the English home market. The telephone system is run at a charge of $25 a year for domestic service and $35 a year for business service, and there is no limit to the number of messages. Cities and towns own their lighting and water works. Finally, the Government has acquired the coal mines, because the price of coal has been excessive; and, adds Sir Joseph, if the same thing happened with the ice supply, the Government would acquire it in the same way. The special reason for Sir Joseph's visit to this country was to obtain reciprocity. New Zealand is ready to make a ten per cent. reduction in her tariff to the United States (the same reduction now made to Great Britain) in return for a like concession, and is prepared to make such a treaty binding without action on the part of the New Zealand Parliament.

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A Great Feat of Navigation

The United States Navy has just completed a feat of long-distance navigation comparable with the unusual voyage of a squadron of torpedo craft from the United States to the Philippines a year ago. The immense floating dry-dock Dewey arrived at Olongapo, in the Philippines, on July 10, after a voyage of 11,000 miles from Chesapeake Bay, occupying 193 days. The dry-dock is practically, for purposes of navigation, a

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great, unwieldy raft. It was towed by the collier Cæsar and the refrigerating ship Glacier, with the collier Brutus and the ocean-going naval tug Potomac as consorts and reserve in case of emergency. The little fleet was in command of Commander H. H. Hosley. A more difficult craft to tow could hardly be imagined. The dock has a displacement of 11,000 tons, and is big enough to hold comfortably the largest battle-ship in the navy. The voyage was by way of the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the Indian Ocean, and was attended by a number of exciting incidents. Before getting out of Chesapeake Bay the Dewey nearly ran into a Norwegian steamer. Several times between the Bermudas and the Canary Islands the dry-dock broke away from the towing vessels, but every time it was safely recaptured. In its journey through the Suez Canal it was delayed several days by adverse winds which forced it against the sides of the canal and made it impossible to proceed until calm weather prevailed. Just before Singapore was reached, the Dewey again broke away, but was quickly retaken and safely towed into that port. The presence of the Dewey at Manila will supply a vital need of our navy in the Far East. Our battle-ships and cruisers in Philippine waters can now be cleaned and repaired without making the long voyage home. This fact renders much easier the maintenance of the strength and efficiency of our Asiatic squadron.

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A Modern Tragedy

Twelve years ago Alfred Dreyfus, captain in a regiment of artillery in the French army, after passing a series of brilliant examinations and being attached to the General Staff during 1893–94, and generally regarded as an officer of unusual promise, although devoid of the elements of personal popularity, was arrested on a charge of acting as a spy for the German Government, and after a secret trial was degraded on the parade-ground of the Ecole Militaire in Paris in the presence of five thousand troops, his sword was broken in pieces, and the buttons and insignia of rank cut from his uniform. General Darras, after reading the verdict, said, in a loud voice, "Dreyfus, you are unworthy to carry arms. In the name of the people of France, we degrade you." Captain Dreyfus replied, in a loud voice, "Vive la France! You have degraded an innocent man; I swear that I am innocent!"

In describing his own arrest and trial Dreyfus said that he was summoned to the War Office; he was accused of high treason; he declared that he was innocent and the victim of a plot; the reply was that the proofs were overwhelming. He was not confronted with the evidence against him. After the public ceremony of degradation he was deported to Devil's Island, off the coast of South America. He spent two years in a stone hut, the windows of which were grated, and the door a latticework of iron; a guard always on duty, and but half an acre of treeless space about the hut. He kept a record of his experience, in which he declared that he suffered from congestion of the brain, and was at times on the verge of insanity; letters sent to him by his family were not put in his hands; his nights were sleepless, and his sufferings so terrible that the world began to think of him, in the later months of his imprisonment, as a modern Prometheus chained to a rock.

His friends, meanwhile, and especially his wife, were working with tireless energy. Colonel Picquart, after investigating the War Office records and discovering evidences of forgery, was banished to Africa. But the affair had gotten out of the hands of the authorities; it was brought up in the Assembly; the interest became intense; the discussion absorbed the interest of France; the whole nation seemed to be consumed with passion. A second court martial was opened at Rennes in 1899, and the distinguished advocate Labori took charge of the case for Dreyfus. The evidence against him was riddled, the character of the witnesses discredited; but the machinery of the army and of the Government alike was working relentlessly against the prisoner. The trial was a mockery of the forms of justice, and resulted in a second conviction and a sentence of ten

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years' imprisonment. Later, as an expression of a change of opinion, President Loubet pardoned Dreyfus, and he returned to France. Meanwhile his friends were hunting for new evidence. On Thursday of last week the Supreme Court announced a decision, written in great detail, which disposed of the charges against Captain Dreyfus and entirely exonerated him. The judges held that one of the documents on which he was condemned was a forgery, that the document which he was said to have betrayed to the Germans could never have been in his hands, that the court at Rennes excluded testimony which would have established his innocence, that the famous *bordereau*, about which the whole world was talking at one time, was written by another, and that no motive for the crime was discoverable. "Therefore the court holds that, as all the accusations against the accused fall to the ground, there is no necessity for a new trial. . . . The accusation against Dreyfus was completely unjustified."

Parliament thereupon promptly, and by a mighty majority, reinstated Dreyfus in the army with the rank of major, at the same time making Picquart a brigadier-general. In explaining the necessary Government bills to these ends, M. Etienne, Minister of War, said:

> A decision has judicially and definitely established the innocence of the accused, involving, *ipso facto*, his reinstatement in the army and expunging his condemnation. The Government, powerless to repair the immense material and moral injury sustained by the victim of a deplorable judicial error, desires to place Dreyfus in the situation he would have occupied if his normal career had not been interrupted.

In the preamble to the Picquart bill these words are used:

> Proclamation of the innocence of Dreyfus demonstrates the legitimacy of Picquart's loyal and courageous efforts for the triumph of truth, at the risk of definitely breaking his career. We demand that Parliament expunge the effects of his action by conferring the rank of brigadier, with priority over other brigadiers.

In the history of fiction there is nothing bolder in invention or more dramatically striking in incident than this famous trial. Captain Dreyfus came to stand as the protagonist of a race and the victim of a people. A man of fortune and of unusual promise, publicly degraded as the result of one of the vilest plots in the history of jurisprudence, surrounded by scoundrels who heaped lie upon lie and forgery upon forgery, condemned to spend two years of solitary confinement on a lonely island in another hemisphere from that in which he was convicted; restored at last, after the complete crushing of all his enemies—Esterhazy a fugitive from justice and a confessed forger, Henry a forger and a suicide, Paty de Clam a despised outcast—the story of Dreyfus will be told for many generations as a warning to republics. For he was not the victim of an autocracy or of a monarchy, but of a free people; and his case is a terrible illustration of the tyranny which can be employed under the forms of law, by people who have substituted passion for reason. All men will rejoice that France has now done all possible to redeem her honor. The most wholesome attitude of the world toward the extraordinary outburst of insanity which for several years deprived that country of its usual clear judgment will not be confined to indignant condemnation, but will include wholesome consideration of the lessons involved in this striking modern tragedy.

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The Quest for Justice

Americans have always regarded themselves as lovers of liberty. No word is more hateful in this land than tyranny. And yet there is a form of tyranny which flourishes in America and scandalizes the world. It is the tyranny of the lawbreaker. When the citizen is assaulted, or robbed, or defrauded, and sees the assailant, the highwayman, the robber unrestrained, he suffers the loss of his liberty. An English writer somewhat familiar with America, Sidney Brooks, wrote last fall, in the London weekly which bears The Outlook's name, the following: "Since 1885 there have been in the United States 131,951 murders and homicides and 2,286 executions. In 1885 the number of murders was 1,808. In 1904 it had increased to 8,482. The number of executions in 1885 was 108.

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In 1904 the number was 110." We quote this, not as a statement of facts, but as an example of the impression which European peoples are getting of America. Criminal statistics are uncertain. Authentic figures are not obtainable. Moreover, the variation in the laws of different States makes wholesale comparisons like this of Mr. Brooks misleading. In some States, for instance, a murderer is not "executed," but, according to law, is imprisoned. Nevertheless such statistics as have been collected from press despatches and other sources, and published in the Chicago "Tribune," indicate that crimes of violence in America are not under control. If these statistics are doubted, as they may well be, they can be enormously qualified and still remain darkly foreboding. The phenomenon of lynching alone has in it surely a great menace to liberty. This is plain to any one who has examined Dr. J. E. Cutler's volume on "Lynch Law." It is known to everybody that hundreds of persons have been put to death by mobs in this country. It is estimated that within twenty-two years over three thousand have thus been killed without trial. And yet Judge Amidon, in his article in last week's issue of The Outlook, said that "during the last seventy-five years nowhere in the British Empire has a man been snatched from the custody of the law and sacrificed to mob violence." That fact placed beside the history of one year in America is enough to justify this country's reputation for lawlessness.

One explanation is sufficient for facts such as these. It is, in Judge Amidon's words, that "the administration of the criminal law has nearly broken down in America." Judge Amidon also explained why it has nearly broken down. It is because in criminal proceedings it has become the practice to fix attention upon the avoidance of technical error rather than upon the obtainment of justice. In his readable book of essays, "Moral Overstrain," Mr. George W. Alger, a New York attorney, characterizes a criminal trial as "a rigid, schoolboy examination of the trial judge on the law." The counsel for the accused, after careful preparation, makes certain requests. On the spur of the moment the judge must decide whether each of them in turn should be allowed or not. "If the accused be found guilty on sufficient evidence, but the judge has not passed in his examination," as Mr. Alger puts it, "there must be a new trial." In other words, technicalities are put above realities. Means and methods for securing justice are exalted above justice itself. Professionalism, that which makes a minister emphasize creed and ritual to the neglect of spiritual life, which makes the surgeon delight in the skill of the operation to the neglect of the saving of life, which drives the teacher to bury himself in child-study to the neglect of the children, lures the lawyer and the judge into enjoying the niceties of the law to the neglect of justice, of which the law is but the instrument. The means has been substituted for the end.

As we pointed out last week, this has resulted from the attempt to protect the individual from society. Once the individual was weak, and society, represented or misrepresented by government, was strong. Now the individual inclosed behind this wall of procedure is thoroughly protected, and society is without defense. Occasionally at some outrageous crime society becomes enraged; disregards law; beats down the defense; and, justly or unjustly, but in any case lawlessly, does away with its victim. That a complicated defense is unnecessary has in several cases been shown. The murderer of President McKinley was given opportunity to have substantial justice, but not to hide behind technical errors. A kidnapper recently in Philadelphia found the court willing to listen to a genuine defense, but was not given a chance to escape by any appeal to the letter of the law.

Justice, not technical excellence, is the object of judicial proceedings; and nothing but a spirit in the judges of determination to do justice rather than to attain technical excellence will restore criminal proceedings in America to their rightful place. Statutes will not do it; codes will not bring the needed reform. The Code of Criminal Procedure of the State of New York contains this provision (§542): "After hearing the appeal, the court must give judgment, without

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regard to technical errors or defects or to exceptions which do not affect the substantial rights of the parties." And yet one of the most scandalously prolonged trials for murder in the history of this country is still pending in that State, awaiting the decision of the United States Supreme Court upon a stay granted by a single justice, after every possible form of appeal had been tested in the State courts. No law, no statute, no code will relieve society from the menace of its criminal classes, high and low; nothing unattended by a reform in the attitude of the judges toward the whole issue between technicality and justice; and the higher the court the more important it is that the ideal of the judge should be, not infallibility, but a just decision. If society is to be protected, it behooves it to see that only such judges are elected or appointed as will let nothing divert them from the single quest for justice.

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Is it Safe to Study the New Testament?

To carry out your suggestions in the article published in your valuable paper February 24, 1906, "Is it Safe to Study the New Testament?" will you please mention those books that are most helpful in studying the New Testament along the lines that you have indicated? The faith of to-day needs a virile presentation to arrest attention, so that the busy men and women of this generation may realize that the Christian ministry has the message of Good News in the spirit of the twentieth century.

TRUTH-SEEKER.

The New Testament may be studied either for a critical or for a religious appreciation. It is the former purpose which this question contemplates. The New Testament writings were both composed and collected with a religious, not a critical, purpose. Their intended end being religious, the criterion of their real value must be religious—a criterion of the spirit, not of the letter. In estimating this value men of the spirit, whether scholarly or unscholarly, are equally competent.

It is otherwise in the study of the New Testament with a critical purpose—that is, in order to determine when, where, and by whom its books were written, or what is historical and what unhistorical. Such study is the exclusive domain of the trained scholar, expert in lexical, historical, and literary questions. Laymen, and the majority even of clergymen, are competent only to fill the place of the intelligent auditor in a court-room. He can listen attentively to the discussion, hear what the experts say, estimate the comparative worth and general trend of testimony, and form his judgment thereon. This is not really studying the questions at issue, but learning from those who have studied them. This is safe, and it is important, provided the student always remembers that the spiritual value of the writing does not primarily depend on the question when and by whom it was written. The question is interesting and it is important, Was the Gospel according to Matthew written by the disciple of that name, or is it composed of various incidents in the life of Jesus, and sayings attributed to him, collected and edited by Matthew, or by some unknown editor? But the spiritual value of the direction "Love your enemies" does not depend upon either the date or the authorship of the Gospel in which that saying is contained. In a similar manner, the spiritual value of the Ten Commandments does not at all depend upon the question whether they were uttered as a summary of previous prophetic teaching perhaps six centuries before Christ, or as a fountain and spring of subsequent prophetic teaching ten or twelve centuries before Christ.

So much being premised for the proper understanding of the inquiry above made and the answer it should receive, a list is here given, for further answer, of as many books of recent date as suffice to present the results to which New Testament criticism has now been carried by Christian scholars, some of the more conservative, others of the more radical, school, all departing more or less widely, in the general consensus of learned men, from the traditional views.

Among the more conservative are these:

Bacon's Introduction to the New Testament.
Gould's Biblical Theology of the New Testament.
Von Soden's Early Christian Literature.

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Moffatt's Historical New Testament.
Moore's New Testament in the Christian Church.
Drummond's Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.
Sanday's Criticism of the Fourth Gospel.
Muirhead's Eschatology of Jesus.
Bacon's The Story of St. Paul.
McGiffert's Apostolic Age.
McGiffert's The Apostles' Creed.
Schultz's Christian Apologetics.

Among the more radical are these:

Pfleiderer's Christian Origins.
Wernle's Beginnings of Christianity.
Schmidt's The Prophet of Nazareth.
Lobstein's The Virgin Birth.
Weinel's St. Paul, the Man and His Work.
Foster's Finality of the Christian Religion.
Whiton's Miracles and Supernatural Religion.
The Religion of Christ (anonymous), G. P. Putnam's Sons.

We have only to add that, in general, we think it wise for the student who is beginning a course of study in Biblical criticism to take first the more conservative authors, as more favorable toward conclusions generally adopted, rather than the more radical scholars, who are more apt to give hypotheses of their own, which a later and more conservative scholarship may eventually accept or eventually discard.

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The Future of Russia

After Sir Donald Wallace and Dr. Dillon, no critics of Russia command more respectful hearing than do MM. Paul and Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu. M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu is a professor at the Collège de France and is editor of "L'Economiste Français." He recently made an interesting pronouncement concerning the agrarian situation, which is the question of questions in Russia. A minority of the Russian peasants are small proprietors; a majority are leaseholders for varied terms of the lands belonging to the mir, or village community, which distributes them to its members. One set of economists, like M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, for instance, calls the communal system a relic of primitive ages which does not lend itself to modern culture; the other, socialistically inclined, acclaims it as justifying a return to communism.

Many writers on this subject have called attention to a supposed parallel between the sale of lands in the French Revolution and that threatened in Russia, where a compulsory expropriation of all crown, church, and private lands is demanded, the lands to be distributed among all the peasants. The comparison is inexact, says M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, for the confiscation and sale of lands in France during the Revolution was applied only to a limited part of the population which had emigrated, and these properties were acquired by rich peasants or small shopkeepers well provided with capital and intelligence and imbued with a desire for progress. He might have added that the contrast between Russia to-day and France a century ago is heightened by the heterogeneousness of the Russian nation—comprising Great Russians, Little Russians, Finns, Poles, Letts, Georgians, and other races speaking a variety of tongues—by the high proportional birth-rate of Russia, and also by the fact that the Russians, both agriculturists and manufacturers, are really less advanced, as a whole, than were the French agriculturists and manufacturers a century ago.

To place the soil of Russia exclusively in the hands of the peasantry, declares M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, would mean the Government's financial ruin. In order to get the most out of Russian soil it is necessary to liberate lands. Three bills are before Parliament: the first, the Government's, would distribute lands to the peasants on surprisingly liberal terms, but not by compulsory expropriation; the second, the bill of the parliamentary majority, would distribute by compulsory expropriation, but for a fair price; the third, the bill of the Socialists and Revolutionaries, would distribute all lands and settle the price afterward, if at all! The peasant deputies in the Duma are divided into two parties. The first, the minority, representing those who are proprietors and the more intelligent, are disturbed to learn that, according to the Revolutionaries' bill, the ownership of all lands is to be vested in the State. The others, communists, the majority as to mere numbers, having received a part of the lands distributed by the intermediary

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of the mir to all muzhiks, or peasants, as a result of the emancipation of the serfs, now expect more. The Government recoils before the enormous cost even of partial expropriation of the crown, church, and private estates. Yet this seems the only solution of the problem. Unless the Emperor recognizes it he will transform his peasants, on whom he has hitherto relied as specially devoted to his person, into a permanent opposition element and ultimately into revolutionists.

But the Russian situation is even now one of actual revolution, said M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu last week. The author of "The Empire of the Tsars," who is as well the Director of the Institut de France, gave out a statement reflecting the result of his frequent visits to Russia, the last of which was made but a few weeks ago for the purpose of observing the effects of the first Russian election. In Poland he found the election bureaus were guarded by troops. "I even heard the Cossack's whip falling on the backs of electors at Lodz," said he, speaking of the righteous assertion of the popular will, "but that did not prevent the people from returning opposition members to Parliament."

It is noticeable that there are a dozen Jewish members in the Lower House. There are five million Jews in Russia, many of them naturally found among the revolutionists. Every critic of the conditions under which the Jews live in Russia has called attention to the fact that the Government itself has made of them irreconcilable adversaries by obstinately refusing to them the rights accorded to other people in Russia. "Thus the reactionists count on the Jews," says this latest critic, "and this is why the police incite brutalities against the Jews, like those at Bialystok. Even if the Ministers are not directly responsible, the local police organized these butcheries, which go on under the benevolent silence of the administration. When I visited Russia, plans for uprising against the Jews were everywhere announced, and the subsequent action merely realized what I fully anticipated." No reasonable man, we would add, supposes that the Emperor and his Ministers, acting in council, would deliberately organize such a massacre as that at Kishinev three years ago, and that at Bialystok the other day. Nevertheless, we maintain that the sole means of bringing about the withdrawal of the Jews who are now committed to the revolutionary propaganda is to accord to them equality before the law.

The Russian situation, as a whole, says M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, is no crisis which can be measured by days, weeks, or months, but a vast and complete transition, resembling that of the French Revolution.

> When I say revolution, I do not mean to say that the monarchy is likely to be overthrown, although it is possible that this may follow. Most of the leaders of the Constitutional Democracy desire to save the throne from wreck. . . . Personally I think that the overthrow of the throne would be a great disaster, for that would mean anarchy and probably civil war. . . . The Emperor is terrified by the example of the French Revolution, and does not wish to have the same end as Louis XIV., although he forgets that Charles I. of England arrived at a similar end by another route. . . . He might stay the storm by permitting the formation of a Ministry representing Parliament, which represents the people. . . . The disappearance of autocracy is inevitable as the theory of government changes from the primitive idea that power descends from the ruler to the people to the more enlightened view that power ascends from the people to the ruler. All that the present monarchy can save is power within constitutional or well-defined limits. . . . The results of the American Revolution were quickly realized because Americans were prepared. But as the people of Russia are far different, I am inclined to believe that their revolution will continue in various stages of intensity for ten and perhaps twenty years, owing to the magnitude of the questions involved and the dangers along the way.

These sane views and conclusions from economists commanding an international reputation will undoubtedly have an influence in Russia towards a just strengthening of the popular will in the direction of a liberal Constitution which shall assure a federative Government, satisfying both the Russians and their conquered border-peoples, assuring land liberation and a Ministry responsible to Parliament. But will the views of MM. Leroy-Beaulieu reach and influence the Emperor? That is the real question.

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The Spectator

Now, if there is one feature of railway travel that the Spectator dislikes more than others, it is the sleeping-car, and that dislike has long postponed his making the trip from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Four or five nights in a sleeper! No, he would rather stay at home. The discomfort that must be endured, and that mainly from the unlighted berths, to say nothing of bad air and the grotesque publicity inevitable upon the making of the morning toilet, rose up in exaggerated proportions whenever he thought of breaking away from the vagaries of the New York climate and seeking the life-giving atmosphere of Southern California. Long was the list of great events shaping the world's history that Mrs. Spectator would name over, showing him how petty personal likes or dislikes had brought them to pass—what great obstructions to a man's happiness his fears of trivial discomfort might be. Rather than spend a few nights in a sleeper, to give up a month or more in the land of sunshine! Yes, she was beginning to believe—

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Well, no matter what she was beginning to believe—the folders and circulars and personal letters from ticket agents, each pressing the superior advantages of some special train to California, were flooding the Spectator's mail. How hard to choose between so many roads to paradise, and that when the rates were, all in all, the same—"electric-lighted berths, individual reading-lamps for each passenger"! The Spectator hesitated no longer; the big ogre that had disputed his passage to Eden took flight, and, laying in a store of books for sleepless nights, he made haste to depart from the blizzardy North.

❀

The night in a sleeper between Buffalo and Chicago, where he was to take his electric-lighted train, was what he had expected—the old story, the coach dimly lighted from the pendent aisle lamps alone, his berth a cavern of blackness wherein he prowled among his bags for things he couldn't find, his vest-pocket lamp a little better than no light at all. The sleeper was crowded; and surely average humanity is never so eminently seen at its best and at its worst as in a sleeping-car at the moment when going to bed begins—unless it be when it turns out in the morning. The Spectator wadded his limp pillow under his head, and comforted himself with planning an ideal sleeping-car—one with a woman's section—yes, and a nursery; the latter feature was inspired by the wailing baby in the next berth.

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There it was at last, the electric-lighted train for California, a long blaze of brilliant light—the Chicago station illuminated with its glory. There were two lights in each berth—delightful! The Spectator arranged himself for the night with perfect ease, selected the book that would soonest woo slumber, and drifted out to pleasant dreams, regretting no longer that he had not taken another route that would have given him finer scenery, or still another that would have shortened the journey several hours. His electric-lighted berth was more than an offset to anything any other road had offered.

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Somebody has well said that there never yet was an Eden into which the little snake of discontent did not wiggle somehow. The little snake was wiggling briskly in the fine observation car when the Spectator entered it the next morning. Directly in the rear a private car had been attached, obstructing the view from the balcony completely. The passengers were kicking vigorously, and the Spectator joined in the protest against the infringement upon their rights; so at Omaha the private car was given a place before the other coaches, at the front of the train. The cost of the victory gained was revealed when darkness set in: there were no electric lights, nothing but the pendent lamps of the aisles. The private car had cut off the dynamo, and that was the end of lights in the berths for the rest of the journey. The train, when it reached Los Angeles late in the evening, the passengers having gathered up their scattered belong-

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ings as best they could in the dim light, was very unlike the one that left Chicago. The difference was that between a blazing comet and a burnt-out asteroid; but it was the famous electric-lighted train all the same.

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When the Spectator took pains to ask if the incident was an exceptional one for railways advertising electric-lighted berths, he soon became aware that he was but revealing his verdancy in such matters. Nor was there any use in making protest, it was said. Had railways no rights that the public were bound to respect? If they contract with ticket-buyers to furnish individual lights for each passenger, an observation car balcony, with an unobstructed view from the same, toilet conveniences, etc., should they be expected to stand by that contract when, by ignoring it in part, they can make a handsome penny by transporting a private car?

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Perhaps the ranch hand who is plowing the great vineyard before the open window of the camp cabin in which the Spectator is writing this morning (the birds singing, the sky blue—blue—blue, the boulder-covered heights ranged close round the fair valley, a wall between him and a busy world enmeshed in railway)—yes, in that plowboy's song must be the counsel the Spectator had best heed, and lay down his pen straightway and join the rabbit-hunters off for a near-by mountain trail—

"If ye're butted by a ram,
Keep ka'm, keep ka'm!"

When the time comes for him to go back to the East again, the soothing tranquillity of a few months on a ranch in Southern California will no doubt have prepared him for a repetition of the disappointment he felt so keenly on his outward journey, and he will meekly accept an unlighted berth, for all that he has paid for individual lamps, with the docility that characterizes the American traveling public. The plowman will not have sung for naught—

"If ye're butted by a ram,
Keep ka'm, keep ka'm!"

CHRIST'S SECRET OF HAPPINESS

I.—THREE KINDS OF HAPPINESS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.
Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.
Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.
Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.
Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.
Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

THERE are three kinds of happiness: pleasure, joy, blessedness. Pleasure is the happiness of the animal nature; joy, of the social nature; blessedness, of the spiritual nature. Pleasure we share with the animals, joy with one another, blessedness with God.

A boy comes home at Christmas from college. At the close of the Christmas dinner he says, "Mother, I haven't had as good a dinner as this since I was home at Thanksgiving." That is pleasure. Friends come in; there are games, dancing, quiet talks in nooks and corners; in brief, a good time. That is joy. By and by the friends depart, the children go to their rooms, the father closes the house, the mother sits meditatively by the dying embers of the fire, living over the birth, the childhood, the early youth of her boy, and looking forward with a mother's hope to his future, and as her husband comes to remind her that it is time to retire, she draws a sigh of quiet joy, and says, as she reaches out to take his hand, "John, we are certainly blest in our children." That is blessedness.

These three types of happiness are

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not inconsistent. One may have them all. God does not require us to choose.

The ascetic is certainly mistaken when he imagines that one must give up this world in order to enjoy the next, or sacrifice the happiness of the body in order to have the happiness of the spirit. God "giveth us richly all things to enjoy." He who eagerly desired to have one last social meal with his friends before he died did not condemn the joys of friendship. He who compared the kingdom of God to a great supper, and himself to one playing in the marketplace that the children might dance to his music, did not condemn the legitimate pleasures of a social table and a healthful dance.

The child of the world is equally mistaken when he imagines that to have a good time he must postpone the consecration of his life to Christ until he has exhausted the pleasures of youth. It is not true that

> "We followers of an injured King
> Are marching to the tomb."

We are marching to victory, and we are followers of a triumphing King. The joy of his life should be in our hearts and the light of his life on our faces. Because we are Christ's, we must deny ourselves all pleasures and all joys? No! Because we are Christ's, all things are ours: whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, *all* are ours: all teachers, all material things, all normal activities, all present opportunities, all future expectations, and even death itself; for if we are Christ's, death is our servant, not our master.

Pleasure, joy, blessedness, are not inconsistent; but they are always to be estimated in this order. Blessedness is better than joy; joy is better than pleasure. For pleasure depends on the possession of things, and things decay; joy depends on the possession of friends, and friends die; but blessedness depends on the possession of character, and character is immortal. The kingdom of heaven, says Paul, is not meat and drink: it is not pleasure. What then? It is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Righteousness, or a character conformed to God's character; peace, or harmony with God and with the laws of one's own soul; and therefore joy in the Holy Spirit,[1] that is, in healthfulness of spirit inspired by fellowship with the Spirit of God. This is immortal. The springs of this happiness are within one's own soul.

Pleasures belong to youth; joys to middle life; blessedness to old age. Therefore old age is best; because it is the portico to a palace beautiful, where happiness is neither withered by time nor destroyed by death. Yet one need not wait for old age. He who in the prime of life has learned this secret of immortal happiness can with Paul bid defiance to all the enemies of happiness. He welcomes troubles as contributions to his happiness because builders of his character: "We glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given unto us."

Christ's secret of happiness is character. Each quality or attribute of character has its own peculiar blessedness. To interpret this truth as it is affirmed by Jesus Christ in the Beatitudes will be the object of the series of articles of which this is the first.

[1] Or, through a holy spirit with which we have been endowed. In Pauline use, Holy Spirit sometimes means the Spirit of God, sometimes the spiritual nature in man, which Paul always attributes to the inspiration of God acting upon man.

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THE WESTERN WORLD IN CONFERENCE

BY SYLVESTER BAXTER

Special Commissioner of The Outlook at the Pan-American Conference

THE first International American Conference, held at Washington in 1889–90, created a new political entity. It was one of those germinal institutions that may easily prove abortive or may gradually develop a supreme importance. But after sixteen years the International Union of American Republics for the Prompt Collection and Distribution of Commercial Information still exists. Furthermore, its permanent representation at Washington by the Bureau of American Republics is now assured by the recent arrangement to erect a handsome and adequate building for the latter. Not a few clear-headed and far-sighted persons see in institutions like this and the Hague Conference, the International Postal Union, and similar comings together of nations for friendly agreement and in mutual interest, the germs of continental and of international unions destined to unite the peoples of the world in ties as strong as those that bind together an empire's provinces or the States of a federated republic.

The name of this new American union —incipient confederation it may be— would have been something different but for an important event that took place before the Conference was two months old. The invitation to the Conference was extended to the various republics of the New World and to the single monarchy, the Empire of Brazil. But in November, 1889, came the bloodless revolution that dethroned the liberal-minded and kindly-hearted Dom Pedro. Hence the new organism received its name, "The International Union of American Republics," etc.

Any idea that the forthcoming Conference at Rio de Janeiro will sit only for a month or so, and then go home, is not borne out by the record of its two predecessors. Their sessions had a length comparable with the sittings of our National Congress or of a busy State Legislature. The Conference of Washington lasted from October 2, 1889, to April 19, 1890. The Conference of Mexico, held from October 22, 1901, to January 31, 1902, though only about half as long, was still of respectable length. It therefore seems not unlikely that the sessions at Rio de Janeiro may last well into the beginning of the South-Brazilian summer.

History will doubtless record as the most distinguished public service of the late James G. Blaine, the origination of the first Pan-American Conference, together with his efforts in behalf of reciprocity in trade. It is a remarkable instance of the way in which a public man, when burdened with responsibility, may rise to the occasion. Opportunity is the soil where blooms the flower of greatness. In this instance it is the more noteworthy since it was precisely in connection with our relations with Spanish-American countries that Mr. Blaine's activities of an earlier period had occasioned a deep distrust. His attitude concerning an old issue between Mexico and Guatemala, and again a controversy between Chile and Peru, had given him repute as a man of mischief-making potencies in our foreign affairs. This was one of the objections brought against him in the campaign of 1884. But when Mr. Blaine again took our foreign relations in charge, his views had broadened, his judgment had matured to a more statesmanlike quality, and he perceived what possibilities lay in utilizing our opportunities for friendly counsel and guidance in relation to the other New World countries.

Mr. Blaine thus started an important movement. In 1883 and '84 the writer had an opportunity to note in Mexico the suspicion and the distrust with which Mr. Blaine was then regarded in Spanish

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America. It was no small triumph that he should have been able to overcome this so entirely, that he should have been able to convince the peoples to the southward of his disinterestedness and his good will, that his memory should be honored as it is to-day in those countries.

Conditions have changed radically in the less than seventeen years that have passed since the Conference of Washington. There is a high significance in the fact that our relations with Latin America furnished the more immediate steps whereby our country has advanced to its position as a world power. The Conference at Washington came almost at the threshold of momentous transitions in the Western world. The change of Brazil from a monarchy to a republic did not materially affect international relations. A few years later, however, the final revolution in Cuba was raging. The kindling spark was struck by a fiscal change in this country. Our tariff on sugar had prostrated industry all over the island. Enforced idleness was the mother of revolt. Then came the American intervention.

Strangely enough, the war with Spain changed Latin-American sentiment toward our country in unlooked-for fashion. The response to our Government's invitation to the Conference at Washington a few years before had been cordial. The results had proved well worth the trouble. Now, most remarkably, although our action in behalf of Cuba was prompted by an unselfish national impulse to free an oppressed people, it aroused a universal distrust in Spanish America. Our motives were suspected; we were charged with seeking national aggrandizement. Early in the nineteenth century our sympathies had gone out to the struggling peoples of Spanish America. But now their sentiment largely turned in favor of Spain. Time and tact were necessary to allay this distrust.

Better feeling had been restored when the Conference of Mexico assembled. The United States had taken its rightful rank among nations. A comparatively puny effort had made it a great world power. Humane intent, good will to men, had come to the front as never before in shaping the policy of a great nation. As in all great movements, more sordid motives, baser considerations, may have played their full share. But there is no good reason to doubt the sincerity of the National sentiment that found voice in such utterances as those of President McKinley and of Secretary Hay upon the matters involved.

The Conference of Mexico was soon succeeded by the events at Panama. It is notable that in that Conference Colombia was represented by General Rafael Reyes, a high type of man—gentleman by birth and education, of scientific attainments, a natural leader, one of the strong characters of Spanish America; a man whose existence makes things seem hopeful when else they might look hopeless; a soldier-statesman in whom many see the potentialities of a second Diaz. It was in Mexico at that time that General Reyes favored the National Geographical Society of that country with a fascinating account of his adventurous journey of exploration, undertaken in company with his two brothers, down the Pilcomayo River to the Amazon—a highly important contribution to geographical knowledge.

Our decisive action at Panama was an inevitable consequence of what we had done in Cuba. It has led to new relations with South America; closer relations, actual and potential. But, together with our attitude in relation to Venezuela and Santo Domingo, it has given rise to new complications, to fresh distrust in various quarters.

We are now at the threshold of the third Conference. The indications are that the gathering at Rio de Janeiro will be more significant than either of its predecessors. The three Americas have been brought into relationships with the world at large more immediate than ever before—with the Orient and the Occident, the world to the east, the world to the west. Ties and counter-ties, continental and intercontinental—railways and steamship lines, canals and river routes, highways and telegraphs—are binding all with the bonds of commercial intercourse that lead to closer relations of all kinds.

Panama means a union of Atlantic and Pacific, leading to consequences that as

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yet are unimagined. Beyond the Pacific a mighty Asiatic power has arisen; the vastest of the world's remaining despotisms has fallen; in China a new might is in gestation. The actions and reactions involved cannot fail to affect us all with tremendous potencies—South and Central America as well as ourselves. Those regions lie in the path of the new movement. They comprise countries of enormous opportunities as yet unutilized, garden-spots of the world yet buried in a wilderness, buried as the slothful servants of the parable buried their talents. Those talents must be utilized by somebody. The world has need of all its fertile places. The marvelous regeneration of Japan indicates the magic change that may come to South America when once the will to advance seizes its nations. The brilliant progress already achieved by Mexico under the wing of her mighty sister, the forces at work in Cuba and in Porto Rico, give earnest of the good that may come to the other lands that have lagged behind.

This Pan-American movement seems to be one of the outcomes of the great forces now at play all over the world. A conscious intention may have appeared to prompt the first step towards it. Viewed in the large, however, it reveals itself as one of the spontaneous responses to the great cosmic impulses that are now bringing the peoples together the world over. Commercial motives have ever been among the strongest of these. While so largely prompted by selfishness and greed—or at least characterized by these vices—nevertheless commercial activities are of the mightiest in bringing men into relations of mutual understanding, respect, confidence, and ultimately of sympathy. Petty considerations may indeed develop their local ganglia, may willfully seek here and there to impede the currents that perhaps they themselves originally helped set in motion. But the mighty enginery of the Great Self-Interest, the Self-Interest of the Whole, becomes too powerful to be thwarted. Beet sugar and Connecticut tobacco may conspire against equitable dealings with Cuba and the Philippines, the domestic beef trust against the hides of Argentina. But the greater interests sooner or later must have their way; selfish obstruction must give in at last.

In looking for results from the present coming together of the New World nations, due consideration must be given to the nature of the elements concerned. Some of these make peculiarly difficult material to deal with. At the table's head we have a great world power, the first to lead the way to democratic liberty, the first to furnish the political ideals that the others have aspired to realize, yet sitting with the others an alien in race and speech, and consequently suspected and misunderstood. The others represent diverse shades of political and industrial development, ranging from countries of imperial magnitudes and potencies down to nations whose weakness, ungoverned wills, and general irresponsibility make them as unruly children, deserving to be dealt with accordingly.

Considered with regard to their relation to ourselves and to each other, these countries fall into a series of groups and of sub-groups. Our political guardianship of the whole has been an understood thing ever since the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed as a bulwark against the Holy Alliance of reactionary Europe. The Monroe Doctrine was an act of self-interest on our part as well as a disinterested affirmation of the principle of free self-government for the New World nations. Had any of the countries of the Holy Alliance been permitted to obtain a foothold in North or South America, our own security would have been menaced. The Monroe Doctrine established a sentimental relationship. Commercial relationships have followed more natural lines, however—the trade lines of least resistance.

Hence we have the independent countries of North, Central, and South America divided into groups, whose relationship to ourselves is characterized by circumstances of vicinage or remoteness and by the extent of commerce between themselves and this country. Roughly speaking, what is peculiarly our sphere of influence covers all of Spanish America from the Rio Grande southward to the northern parts of South America—the "Spanish Main," or the southerly

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shores of the Caribbean Sea. This includes the independent island of the West Indies. Although all these countries have an extensive trade direct with Europe, the great bulk of their commerce, both export and import, is with the United States. With the opening of the Panama Canal—and even before that event in consequence of the encouragement of trade by the improvement of railway facilities at Panama and at Tehuantepec—our sphere of influence will be extended farther and farther down the west coast of South America—Ecuador, Peru, and Chile—and ultimately, perhaps, by trans-Andean railway lines, into Bolivia and Argentina.

As to the rest of South America, our commercial relations are less intimate, although gradually improving under the increased demand for our manufactured products. The same circumstance that gave Brazil to Portugal—under the Papal division of the newly or then yet to be discovered lands of the Western and Eastern Hemispheres between the Spanish and the Portuguese Empires—gave the bulk of South American trade, in the countries beyond our special sphere of influence as aforesaid, to Europe. That circumstance is the projection of the continent eastward to a degree of longitude more than half way across the Atlantic, as measured by northern hemisphere relations. Hence, to all intents and purposes, those parts of South America are much nearer Europe than to North America. Trade naturally goes that way. European commercial influences are correspondingly dominant in all the South Atlantic ports. In a way, their commercial relations with us are also close; we are enormous consumers of their exports, although their imports chiefly come from Europe. This is not so inequitable as those would have us think who maintain that everybody who sells to us should also buy of us. Gratifying as it would be to have them buy the bulk of their imports from us, the triangular trade that now exists seems quite in the fair and square economic order of things.

In glancing at the various countries represented in the Conference of Rio de Janeiro, it may be remarked that to a considerable degree they show a disintegration of early political conditions. In the revolution against Spanish dominion there was a co-ordination that almost amounted to coherence under the unity of action inspired by a common purpose. Early nineteenth-century maps of South America after independence show one country, the original Colombia, occupying the territory now divided between Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. Central America, also originally one republic, was soon disintegrated into Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Happily, Mexico remained intact, except as despoiled by a conquest that proved beneficent despite its malign intent. Territorial extensiveness seems to have made for unity, and ultimately for good government. Disintegration was natural under conditions where the want of lines of intercommunication meant isolation and lack of mutual interests. The six independent States of Central America—including Panama—and the nine independent republics of Spanish South America, besides their big Portuguese cousin, Brazil, are just as natural to their physical conditions as were the three independent kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Wales in the old days. But with the growth of railways and other lines of intercommunication, together with a community of language and race, a reintegration of Spanish America may be looked for. It seems not unlikely that another quarter-century will see the process complete.

It should be noted, as a circumstance that may have an important bearing for coming developments, that just as the dominant position in North America is held by the English-speaking United States, so in South America the preeminent position is held by Brazil, still imperial in its magnificence of domain and of resources, and also speaking a tongue which, though cognate, is still foreign for all its neighboring republics. In the case of Brazil, size, together with the greatest network of natural internal waterways possessed by any country in the world, also has meant an imperial self-consciousness and a sense of solidarity.

The fear is often expressed in Latin

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America that our country's attitude and activity in continental affairs masks a policy of dominance and aggrandizement; that American ambition will not be satisfied until the stars and stripes floats from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. Every American who gives any thought to these questions knows how absolutely groundless this fear is. Even among habitual "eagle-screamers" there is less of such talk to-day than there was fifty years ago. We know that conquest of South American countries would be impracticable, and that there could be no occasion for attempting it. We also realize that it is best for all concerned that Latin America should go on and develop its own institutions along the lines of progress indicated by the traditions of language and of race. English, "World-English," may become a prevalent language throughout South America as for all the rest of civilization. But there is no expectation that English will ever supersede Spanish, or that Anglo-Saxon institutions will supplant native institutions, in those countries. Our country's natural primacy in the New World carries vast responsibilities with it. These should naturally be exercised in behalf of good order, friendly relations throughout the continent, increasing unity, progress. But they do not in the least necessitate any exercise of authority on our part.

Within our more immediate "sphere of influence" there is more to be considered. Ultimately there well may be some form of union established throughout North and Central America as far south as Panama, as there may be between ourselves and Canada. But this does not in the least imply the annexation of Mexico and Central America, any more than it does that of Canada. The extinction of Mexican nationality would be considered a calamity by thinking Americans as by Mexicans. The Central American States are still a turbulent group. But the present ferment there seems to be working towards unity. In the West Indies Cuba is an American protectorate. Geographical and political conditions point to yet closer relations. There are those who think that direct annexation, as in the case of Porto Rico, would in the first place have been better for all concerned.

There remain the two island republics of Santo Domingo and Hayti—the latter the smallest in the New World and the only Latin-American country (lingually, not racially, Latin) besides Brazil that speaks a language other than Spanish. They present a vexed problem, a problem that must be settled in the near future; that would have been settled a generation ago had General Grant been permitted to have his statesmanlike way in the matter. It is a disagreeable and ungrateful task to handle. But they are opera-bouffe republics. They have little sense of nationality. They are doomed to chronic misgovernment; there is no hope for their improvement so long as left to themselves. They make a waste of one of the world's fairest islands. Hispaniola was the scene of the first European occupancy of the New World. It seems to be our duty to recover it in behalf of the civilization that there had its American beginnings. This can be accomplished only under external authority. And the naturally gentle and peaceable people who are numerous in Santo Domingo—of Hayti perhaps the less said the better—would welcome a rule that would assure them the tranquillity and the prosperity that peace would immediately confer.

As for the rest of Latin America, in general the tendency seems to be progressive. Peru appears to have taken to heart the lesson of its war with Chile nearly a generation ago. Chile and Argentina we know as the two most progressive Spanish-American nations south of Mexico. Uruguay and Paraguay still suffer from the characteristic political malady traditional with such countries, though not to the extent that Venezuela and Colombia have been suffering. Colombia, under General Reyes, now gives good promise; Venezuela continues as an awful example of chronic misrule.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the elements assembled at the board of the Conference are unequal and somewhat complex. On our country's part participation is quite different from the taking of a seat among peers at a Hague Conference. While several of

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the participants at Rio de Janeiro are strong and stable States, others are distinctly not peers of the United States of America in any sense. Yet it hardly needs to be said that they must be treated with the greatest consideration, and, so far as possible, led to reasonable and righteous conclusions.

A GIFT OF HEALTH

BY JACOB A. RIIS

Mr. Riis's shout of triumph is one in which we believe our readers will want to join. The victory it celebrates followed a battle which we think it is worth while to rehearse. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, in the course of its work, encountered many children crippled and dying from tuberculosis of the bones and glands. Shut up in their tenement homes, these children were doomed to a life of suffering and uselessness. Members of the Association traveling in Europe discovered what had been done on behalf of such children. The value of outdoor treatment in sea air had been demonstrated. The Association maintains a fresh-air home at Coney Island. Near that summer home it set up temporary quarters for these helpless children. Miss Laura Winnington, who in the midst of her work at the office of The Outlook was herself enduring silently the attack of a mortal disease, visited Sea Breeze and wrote a letter about it which was published in The Outlook for July 8, 1905. Before she died she learned that as a result of her letter $25,000 had been given to establish a hospital. Her letter also led President Roosevelt to visit Sea Breeze. Thus the movement for raising a fund for the hospital was started. Under the direction of its general agent, Mr. William H. Allen, the Association carried on through the press a campaign of information; the information carried its own appeal. Among the contributors, "An Outlook Reader" gave $10,000; hundreds of other Outlook readers helped to swell the amount, in sums from ten cents to three hundred dollars. Now the fund is completed and the hospital will be built—the first one for the salt-air treatment of tuberculosis of the bones and glands to be erected in America. It is hoped that the city will maintain and rapidly extend it. That is just; for it is the city that in its slums manufactures the conditions that spread the disease. For the maintenance of the hospital now under the care of the Association in and about its pavilion at Sea Breeze, until the new hospital is built and ready to carry on the work, there is still need of $25,000. For a souvenir of this movement our readers will do well to send a stamp to the Association, Room 215, No. 105 East Twenty-second Street, for a Happiness Calendar with a fine picture of Outlook Joe—a sure cure for the blues. Now we will let Mr. Riis exult.—THE EDITORS.

THE money came for the Sea Breeze hospital—all of it—as I knew it would, and some four hundred of the little cripples are to have their only chance for life. Also the chances of long suffering and death are greatly reduced for the million of tenement-house children, for it is not to be forgotten that every one of the stricken ones is a victim of contagion and conditions that will not be neglected when the tenement once knows the real cause of its crippled children. So much will be gained when the hospital is built. "Yes, *when* it is built," said one the day we all rejoiced. "The city is to furnish the site, and it is not in a hurry." That was an unnecessary fling. To be sure, Mayor McClellan, who made the children's cause his own, is away; but there will be no delay. The Mayor is not the only man whose heart and ears are open to woe such as this. Not to be in a hurry to relieve it when the way is cleared, as it now is, would be—let us say foolish. It won't happen.

The way the money came was instructive. The last hour of the time limit set by Mr. Rockefeller, who gave half the big sum, had come, with Mr. Allen, the Secretary of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, at his desk sadly contemplating a deficiency of $22,000 which there seemed no way of overcoming. The last three days had been spent in making heartrending appeals for the children, and the responses flowed in right along; but twenty-two

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thousand dollars is a big sum with an hour to raise it in and no telling which way to turn. Then came a voice on the telephone. The telephone is all right. I take back all I ever said against it in moments of unreasonableness. Before the hour had sped Mr. Allen and Dr. Brannan, whose enthusiasm has pulled that load a long way, were forty miles up country—where is their secret. The voice warned them not to tell.

They met a plain man of plain speech who loved chickens and dogs and horses and who talked to them of his hobbies. One of these, it appeared, was that children on crutches or strapped on boards to hold their backs rigid were not a good substitute for squirming, playing, healthy boys and girls. Hence, if there was a way to wean them from the crutches and the straps, he wanted to know of that way. And when he had heard the story, he said very quietly: "Build the hospital; what you haven't got I will give you," and then turned back to his horses, as if for relief. He came back by a short cut to tell his visitors that he thought it would please his father and mother, who are both in heaven, and to suggest that in the hot weather it would be a good thing to have a plenty of drinking fountains in the city for man and beast. Would the city accept and put up ten, or twenty, or thirty, if he gave them? He thought a while, and made up his mind.

"Tell them," he said, "that as many as they will accept in Manhattan and Brooklyn I will put up, of such a plain, common-sense pattern that it may easily be followed in the days to come, say, to cost not over $250 apiece."

That was not all; but as much as I may tell here. The Association will tell the rest in good time. The name of that man will not appear in their reports, not while he lives. He wants it so. They never heard of it before; I never did. We know why now. The angels that ever behold our Father's face have heard of it often, and it is enough.

I said the way of it was instructive. I have had that lesson brought home to me many a time in my life. It is the plan we have learned to go on at 48 Henry Street all these years: that when you are doing the thing that is right, which God wants you to do, you are to go straight ahead, putting in every atom of strength there is in you, and, having done that, calmly leave the rest to God. He has all the money and all the time there is, and at the right moment will send along his servant and do the thing you have been praying for, if you never consciously asked, but just kept doing. Probably you did both; they go together. It is a good thing to get down on your knees if then you get up and slam right in. Lord Palmerston was right when he sent away a delegation asking him to declare a day of fasting and prayer to avert a threatened cholera epidemic, with this message:

"Go home and clean up. Pray, broom in hand; that is the way to fight the cholera."

That which these things tell me—and they occur right along—is that what work God has to be done in his world is to be done by human hands. So he works his miracles in our age; and let us be glad, for so we become co-workers with God. If we will not do them, he has time to wait, and they will be undone till a generation comes that will. "Thy kingdom come" is not a child's appeal, but a man's prayer for strength to help it come. Think of the meaning that comes into life once that is made clear! So, it seems to me, we catch the real glimpses of life eternal that are permitted to human eyes. And once you have caught it the rest matters little. Laura Winnington's faith was justified. She is not yet a year in her grave, and the dream that went with her into God's kingdom has become real upon earth.

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ASLEEP AT HIS POST

A GLIMPSE OF ONE GREAT MENACE TO TRAVELERS

This straightforward but vivid account of exhausting overwork in the handling of trains is by a former railway employee. For the purpose of maintaining unity in the narrative, and of preserving the anonymity of the author, facts have been slightly modified in certain immaterial particulars; in all essential matters, however, the experiences of the writer were actually as recorded. If it is a legitimate object of government to safeguard life and property, it is certainly incumbent upon the Government of the United States to prevent the continuance of conditions here described.—THE EDITORS.

FIVE years ago, upon graduation from college, I was offered a chance to begin at the bottom rung of the railway ladder. I accepted it eagerly, and entered the operating department of a second-rate single-track trunk line in the Middle West. After three years' service in various capacities —as yard clerk, clerk in a chief despatcher's office, locomotive fireman, "boilerhead" switchman, and night yardmaster— I decided that a practical understanding of train movement was essential to advancement, and accordingly seized the first opportunity to "hire out" as a freight brakeman. Four months later, in December, 1904, in view of my former training and because material was scarce, I was appointed to the arduous yet interesting position of conductor on the Chicago Division. The winter freight traffic was heavy, and this, with eight passenger trains daily and three steep grades, made conditions for despatchers and conductors about as trying as a young student of railroad operation could wish. To pilot a train, whether thirty cars of merchandise and provisions or sixty cars of commodities in bulk, from terminal to terminal without mishap and in the shortest possible time, passing opposing trains, avoiding those pursuing, and overtaking the sluggards and cripples, brought me often much adventure and always extreme fatigue.

Now, it is about this matter of weariness—sheer exhaustion, to speak forcibly and yet truthfully—that I wish to write a few pages in order that the public may appreciate fully how completely their lives and property depend upon the mental and physical condition of our freight train crews.

This winter a disastrous head-on collision occurred between the last section of a transcontinental express and a freight train. Several of the enginemen, trainmen, and mail clerks were killed, but the passengers in their Pullmans, behind a shattered bulwark of baggage and mail cars, were unharmed. The cause of that wreck, the public has been told, was the freight train crew's violation of despatcher's orders. That is true as far as it goes, but the reason why orders were violated is this: The freight train crew had been *fifty-nine* consecutive hours on duty, and fell asleep, unable to stay awake and count the number of passing sections. Fifty-nine hours—two days and a half—sounds incredible, but I believe an analysis of the despatcher's train-sheets in a majority of division headquarters would reveal some startling facts; and to give this contention more weight, I want to tell briefly the true story of fifty-two hours, the vivid remembrance of which will always stick fast in my mind.

Arriving in Jericho after a short six-hour trip from Chicago, I consented to double back without rest in charge of a heavy tonnage freight. Bad luck and delays, a leaking locomotive, irritating minor mishaps, and an avalanche of east-bound traffic to battle against, made us average less than seven miles an hour. In other words, when we reached Stark, a lonely side-track and non-telegraph station, at 3 A.M. on the second day, we had traveled only one hundred and twenty-five miles in nineteen hours, and

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were still fifty miles from Chicago, which we had left twenty-seven hours previous.

Strive as a mortal may, though inured to hardship and lack of sleep, nerves will relax their tension and eyelids will close. Even the sense of responsibility may fail to jerk a drooping head back to consciousness. Such was the case with Jake, the rear brakeman, who, huddled in the seat on the other side of the cupola, despite gentle appeal or angry malediction, slumbered peacefully. At Stark we took siding to allow two meat trains and the night express, all going in the opposite direction, to pass. Moreover, we had been given an order in the form of a schedule, stating that a "special," also east-bound, was due here at 3:15 A.M. I took out my watch, shook Jake into semi-intelligence, and sent him to cool a smoking hot box. At 3:10 A.M. the night express hurtled past, at 3:20 A.M. came the first meat train, and ten minutes later the second section thundered by, but no special. Then, as, with a jangle of couplings, I felt the caboose lurch forward, I realized that the engineer had forgotten the belated special and was pulling out of the side track into the jaws of death. Seizing my lantern, I sped over the car roofs, giving frantic stop signals as I ran.

"Don't get mad, neighbor!"—this to me as I clambered down into the cab. "I must ha' dozed off and woke up sudden with the idee that bloody special had passed," and with this excuse the engineer threw over the reverse lever and backed the train into safety.

Fifteen hours later we dragged wearily into the Chicago yard to find not a caboose on the caboose track and a string of yellow refrigerators laden with fresh meat awaiting immediate shipment. The worried yardmaster explained that packing-house deliveries had been so heavy that all the crews had been sent east (no news to us, we had met them all), and forthwith he besought us to turn about with the last consignment. To delay this precious freight meant losing the haul to another trunk line, and yet, by the terms of our wage schedule, we were entitled to eight hours' rest.

"Meat be blanked! I'm all in," said one "brakie."

"My home's at the other end, and my baby's sick; I want to go back," said the other "shack;"[1] and I cast my vote with the latter after stipulating for two hours' sleep and a fresh engine crew. Here was an instance of two motives, parental anxiety on the part of a brakeman, ambition for promotion on the part of the conductor, overruling, in the absence of legal restriction, a sane plea for rest, and creating a menace to the lives of every passenger and employee on the division.

That return trip was a nightmare. We had arrived in Chicago at 9 P.M. We left at midnight, our low vitalities a prey to six hours of winter darkness. The preparatory two hours' cat-nap, wrapped in our overcoats on the caboose transoms, only served to intensify a lethargy and stupor which seemed momentarily ready to engulf us in a sea of benumbing drowsiness. Thanks, first, to Dame Fortune, second, to the character of our freight, third, to a message I sent to the despatcher warning him of our condition, and, fourth, to the fresh engine crew, we were able to finish our fifty-two hours of service without accident, and, sadder but wiser men, we staggered home to bed.

Nobody will question the necessity of a good night's rest to the performance of keen, accurate, and efficient work, and yet how many people are there to-day who realize that the freight train crews of our railroads, especially in winter and on single-track lines, are often on duty twenty-four to thirty-six hours without sleep? The artisan, the laborer, the miner, the mill-hand, and the clerk work but ten hours at the most during the twenty-four, and yet the men who share with the eight-hour trick despatchers the responsibility for the safety of the traveling public rarely doff their overalls short of the sixteen-hour mark. They are paid overtime—of course they are—and at an increased rate per hour or per mile; but ask a dozen engineers and freight conductors whether the hardship of overtime is counterbalanced by the extra wages, and, unless some member of the group is trying to pay off a mortgage on a neat little cottage and

[1] Brakeman.

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lot, every man's answer will be an emphatic negative. Work that is paid for in blood should be prohibited, and the toilers supplanted by fresh, wide-awake comrades.

The Accident Bulletin recently issued by the Inter-State Commerce Commission states that during October, November, and December of last year there were 2,077 collisions, 267 of these affecting passenger trains, and that the number of passengers and employees killed in train accidents, exclusive of casualties at road crossings, etc., was 1,119, while the number injured was 17,118. The Commission points out that the list of casualties for the quarter is larger in nearly every item than the preceding quarter, and ascribes as one of the causes the fact that employees of all classes are kept on duty for many hours longer than a reasonable day. That the Inter-State Commerce Commission has hit the nail on the head I can vouch for from personal experience. Let us hope the discovery will effect important reforms.

I am no labor agitator, no fomenter of discord between employer and employees, nor yet an advocate for an eight or even a ten hour day in railroad operation, but I do believe steps, legislative if necessary, should be taken to prevent engineers, firemen, conductors, and brakemen from remaining too long on duty. Twelve, possibly fourteen, consecutive hours on both through and local freights would constitute a day whose duration would neither impair the mental and physical faculties of train crews nor entail increase in what Wall Street classifies as cost of transportation. For example, the management of the railway which employed me finally cut the Chicago Division in two and erected a six-stall roundhouse at the bisecting water station with the money they estimated they would save in overtime.

And equally important as limiting the maximum number of hours of work is specifying the *minimum* number of hours of rest before men may be called upon again for duty. The conductor "registers in" at the end of a "run" at the yard office, the engineer at the roundhouse. Within eight hours if desired, so reads the usual labor agreement between trainmen and general managers, they must return to their respective stations to take out another train. How much of this time are they asleep in bed? Barely five hours, I make answer, recalling the two hours I used to spend trudging home, "washing up," eating supper (perhaps at 6 A.M.), and smoking my pipe before retiring, and then after my sleep the hour consumed in dressing, breakfasting, and hurrying back to the caboose.

This is not enough; a man should have ten to twelve hours between trips if he is to be the efficient and alert servant of our railways and the constant protector of our lives.

The human factor, especially on single-track roads, the mileage of which far exceeds that of double-track lines, plays an important part in the safety of train movement, chiefly because the block system, owing to the enormous expense of installation, is little used. But even where block signals are in operation, what meaning has the rigid semaphore and gleaming red lamp for sleep-closed eyes? And since the human factor is to be reckoned with, and since mechanical device cannot always guard against the failings of the human make-up, let us support the Inter-State Commerce Commission in any and all measures to regulate the hours of work and of rest in the train service of our railways.

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A SCHOOL AND SOME BOYS

BY EDWARD KIRKE TITUS

THE twenty-fifth anniversary of D. L. Moody s original educational enterprise, the Mount Hermon Boys' School, near Northfield, Massachusetts, was celebrated June 30–July 3, by seven hundred returning students. Having in recent years attained a firmer financial basis, the school may be said to have passed the experimental stage, and to have realized its ideals of democratic education.

Mr. Moody undertook to make education possible to every poor boy who was willing to work, by offering a thorough secondary school course, with emphasis on the religious motive, at a total cost of $55 per term of four months. But an increasing debt made it seem likely last year that the students' fees must be raised, involving modification or abandonment of original purposes, and appeal to a different class of young men. Old students and friends came to the rescue, however, and during the past year not merely met the annual deficit of $40,000, which has always to be provided for, but paid the entire debt of $30,000 incurred for necessary permanent improvements.

Mr. Moody, ever original, set the boys at work to help pay for their "keep," and two hours a day of manual labor has always been required. Not merely does this inculcate industry, but it teaches trades by which money can be earned during vacations, for the majority of the Hermon students have to skip terms occasionally to replenish their funds. The work done by the students last year on the farm, in school buildings, laundry, kitchen, carpentry shop, etc., saved labor otherwise estimated to cost $13,000.

The typical candidate for Hermon is the fellow who left school very early, but years after saw that better-educated men were earning more money. He comes to Hermon thinking of the dollars that education brings, and there first meets men who believe in education for other reasons. Thanksgiving Day he sees the graduates who have gone to college gathered back to Alma Mater. As the student songs ring out, there is an undertone of sentiment that any Hermon boy can make his way through college. The former Hermonite editor tells how he paid expenses by reporting for city dailies, the boy from the Hermon kitchen how he cooked his way to a university degree. Hopes and ideals are born, and 125 fellows whose horizon had been limited by a Hermon diploma are now college undergraduates. Seventy per cent. of the present students plan to enter higher institutions. Seventy-two per cent. of the fellows who are paying their own bills expect to go through college.

Since the school opened 4,832 men have been enrolled. Over twenty-five foreign countries are represented every year.

Here are a few snap-shots. One boy who stole rides on freight trains from Chicago and "slept out in the bush," as he put it, until he could clean off the thick of the cinders before trudging up the hill to face the office, is now a student with high English records in a foremost Eastern university.

Here is a Jew who has been working and studying fourteen hours a day and sending money weekly to his mother in Russia. One graduate, homeless at fourteen, became successively candy-maker, barber, valve-maker, clerk, circus performer. Since leaving Hermon he has been eleven years pastor of a Colorado church whose membership in that period has grown from 165 to 500. The recent Chairman of the Canadian Congregational Union helped himself through by working in the laundry. Another graduate was in turn street-car driver, stable-boy, and coachman for five years for Dr. Howard Duffield, of New York. He married, became interested in education, sent his child to his wife's parents, and entered Hermon, while his wife helped by working at dressmaking. He has recently organized several Western churches.

"Tom" Baker, slave, brick-yard worker, found the printed page during his early Hermon career peculiarly baf-

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fling and enigmatic. The Rev. Thomas Baker, valedictorian at Boston University, Yale Ph.D., is now a pastor at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and was recently commended by The Outlook for wise views of race problems.

A typical little urchin from the New York East Side, sent to Hermon by some friend of Mr. Moody, wept on the train, and inquired of a kind-faced lady across the car aisle if Mr. Moody were kind to boys. The lady was Mrs. Moody. The boy proved the good stuff in him by working his way through a New England college, where he made a home for his dependent mother, who helped by taking in washing. He is now pastor of a prominent church in the New York suburbs. Many graduates are successful business men.

When you visit Mount Hermon School this summer, where you will find many students still at work, you may see a number of them walking the hilly mile to or from the station, even with heavy suit-cases and on a hot day. Fellows who pay their bills from "$20 a month and found" think this an easy method of earning the price of a carriage ride. You will find yourself treading down the grass if you follow your college habit of cutting corners, for the Hermon boys have an extraordinary habit of permitting turf in the angles of their lovely lawns. If you come in winter, don't imagine that the no-overcoat habit is merely a fad.

Such glimpses suggest the typical Hermonite as resolute, conscientious, and something of a stoic. He is worth knowing.

A VETERAN LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN LIBERALS

BY GEORGE KENNAN

NO member of the present Liberal party in Russia has made a longer, more consistent, or more effective fight for justice, freedom, and representative government than Ivan Illich Petrunkevich, of Tver. Entering public life as a member of the provincial assembly of Chernigoff in 1869, when he was only twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, he identified himself with the Liberal party created by the sweeping reforms of Alexander II., and soon took a prominent position as an economic leader, a champion of the people, and a fearless and determined opponent of bureaucratic oppression, corruption, and injustice. He first came into conflict with the Government in a case growing out of the emancipation of the serfs; and as the facts of that case throw light not only upon his character, but upon the historic causes of the present condition of the Russian peasants, it may be worth while briefly to set them forth.

When the serfs in Russia were freed, their former owners were required by the emancipation decree to give them land enough for their support. The areas of the allotments made to them varied, in different parts of the Empire, in accordance with local conditions of climate and soil; but in the province of Chernigoff every head of a peasant family was entitled to receive from his former owner a tract of land comprising four deciatines, or about eleven acres. The Government reimbursed the proprietors for the lands which it thus compelled them to give to their emancipated serfs, and then, in order to recoup itself, took what virtually amounted to a forty-year mortgage on the peasant allotments. The ex-serfs nominally owned their little farms; but the purchase-money had been advanced by the Government, and the nominal owners could neither acquire legal title to them nor abandon them until they had paid, for a period of forty years, what were known as "redemption taxes." Theoretically, and on its face, this scheme seemed to be a good one; but in practice it worked out badly, for the reason that many selfish proprietors, with the aid of bribed officials, put off on their ex-serfs the very worst land they had—land which was so poor and

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barren as to be almost untillable. Thousands of peasant families in all parts of the Empire were forced to take allotments on which it was utterly impossible to make a livelihood, or even to pay "redemption taxes;" so that their condition as freedmen soon became much worse than their condition had been as serfs.

In two whole "uyezds," or districts, of the province of Chernigoff,[1] the allotments were so dry and sandy as to be worth in the open market only fifty kopeks a deciatine, while the annual redemption tax was fixed at two rubles a deciatine.[2] In other words, the allottees were legally bound for a period of forty years to live on land which could not possibly be made to support them, and were required, furthermore, to pay on such land every year a redemption tax amounting to four times its intrinsic value. The annual redemption payments on four deciatines of land would amount in forty years to three hundred and twenty rubles, while the land thus redeemed had an actual market value of only two rubles. If any ex-serf should abandon his allotment without having made full payment, he would become a defaulter and a criminal.

Mr. Petrunkevich laid this case before the Chernigoff provincial assembly; pointed out the injustice of binding peasants to land which would not support them; showed the glaring discrepancy between the value of the allotments and the sum of the redemption payments, and asked permission to introduce a resolution calling the attention of the Government to the impending ruin of the people in these two districts, and begging the Imperial authorities to lower the redemption payments or give the peasants the option of migrating and acquiring land elsewhere. The president of the assembly, acting, as he expressly stated, under orders from the Minister of the Interior, forbade discussion of the subject, and informed Mr. Petrunkevich that the proposed resolution could not be introduced nor considered. Undaunted by this check, Mr. Petrunkevich carried the case, by appeal, to the Governing Senate; but the latter, ignorant of the real state of affairs in the districts in question, and influenced, perhaps, by the Minister of the Interior or the Czar, declined to interfere. The allotments had been made and the lands valued in strict accordance with the forms of law, and captious critics in the provincial assembly could not be allowed to question the wisdom or justice of official action in such a case. Four years later the peasants of these two districts were economically ruined, and in order to keep them from starving to death the Government had not only to give them temporary support, but to adopt the very measures of relief which Mr. Petrunkevich had suggested, and which he had not been allowed to lay in the form of a resolution before the provincial assembly.

As a result of this unsuccessful attempt to save tens of thousands of emancipated serfs from economic ruin, Mr. Petrunkevich became obnoxious to the Minister of the Interior, and, in official circles, acquired the reputation of being "troublesome" and "politically untrustworthy." No attempt, however, was made to gag him or to restrict his personal liberty until 1879, when he again incurred the displeasure of the Minister of the Interior by insisting on the right of a provincial assembly to petition the Crown. The Government, shortly before that time, had asked the people to co-operate with the administration in the work of suppressing "terrorism" and maintaining order. The provincial assemblies, as representatives of the people, took this appeal for support into consideration, and decided to reply by means of petitions which should set forth the causes of terrorism and ask for liberal reforms. The first petition which went in was that of the provincial assembly of Kharkoff, which convened earlier than the others and therefore took the lead. This address was not as clear in statement nor as definite in its demands as might have been desired, but nevertheless it produced a profound sensation. The Minister of the Interior at once sent a circular-letter to the Marshals of the Nobility, who presided

[1] The districts of Mglinsk and Surazh.
[2] One deciatine equals 2.7 acres. One ruble is equivalent to about 50 cents. One hundred kopeks make one ruble.

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over the provincial assemblies, directing them not to allow any petitions or memorials to be laid before the assemblies without previous submission to them (the Marshals) for approval, and not to permit action of any kind upon such petitions as that from the assembly of Kharkoff. The next zemstvo to draw up a memorial was that of Chernigoff. Its address to the Crown, which was drafted by Mr. Petrunkevich, was respectful in form and tone but extremely bold in expression. It declared that the Government itself was responsible for the revolutionary movement which it asked the people to oppose, because it had never executed faithfully its own laws; that by constantly violating those laws and resorting to administrative force to attain its illegal ends it had destroyed the people's respect for law, and had thus prepared the way for all sorts of anarchistic teaching; that it had not granted a single reform which on the very next day it had not tried to mutilate or nullify by administrative regulations and restrictions; that it had deprived the Russian people of the right to express its opinions, not only through the press and through public meetings, but even through the provincial assemblies; and, finally, that the only way successfully to combat revolution was to create new national forms, and adopt a constitution which would restrain illegal action not only on the part of individual citizens, but on the part of the Government.

At an informal meeting of all the delegates of the Chernigoff provincial assembly this bold address was adopted with only two dissenting votes, and was then given to Mr. Petrunkevich for formal presentation to the assembly at its regular session on the following day. In the meantime Mr. Petrunkevich submitted it to the presiding officer for approval, as required by the recent ministerial circular. The Marshal, after reading it, said, "I cannot allow you to lay this paper before the assembly."

"Why?" demanded Mr. Petrunkevich.

"Because it is forbidden."

"Can you show me any law of the Empire which forbids a delegate to lay before the assembly of which he is a member a perfectly respectful petition to the Crown?"

"No," replied the Marshal; "but I have an order from the Minister of the Interior which has all the force of law so far as I am concerned, and I must obey it."

"If," said Mr. Petrunkevich, "you cannot show me a law which forbids such action as that which I propose to take, I am acting within my legal rights, and I shall lay this petition before the assembly to-morrow unless I am prevented by force."

"Very well," replied the Marshal; "I must then take my measures."

When, on the following morning, Mr. Petrunkevich went to the assembly hall, he found the public for the first time excluded. There were gendarmes at the door to keep out all persons except delegates, and there were gendarmes in the hall itself. As soon as the assembly had been called to order several members sprang to their feet and protested against the presence of the gendarmes, which, they declared, was a menace and an insult to a deliberative assembly. The presiding officer replied that the gendarmes were there by order of the Governor. Amid a scene of great excitement and confusion Mr. Petrunkevich rose to present the address to the Crown, which had been almost unanimously adopted by the delegates at the informal session of the previous day. The presiding officer refused to allow it to be read or considered, and when Mr. Petrunkevich persisted in his attempt to obtain formal action upon it, the Marshal peremptorily declared the session of the assembly closed, and the hall was cleared by the gendarmes. For his daring and obstinacy in this matter Mr. Petrunkevich, by order of the Minister of the Interior, was arrested, dismissed from the assembly, and banished to the province of Tver.[1]

[1] This account of the circumstances which led to the banishment of Mr. Petrunkevich was written by me for the "Century Magazine" more than eighteen years ago. As it has long since been forgotten, I venture to reproduce it. A recent writer in an American periodical has stated that Mr. Petrunkevich was exiled to Siberia. This is an error. He has spent half his life in banishment from his home and ancestral estate in the province of Chernigoff, but he has not been an exile in Siberia. For fifteen years or more he has been identified with the provincial assembly of Tver, where he has rendered distinguished service as a fearless champion of popular rights.

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Upon a man of limited means or weak character arrest and banishment might, perhaps, have had a disheartening and crushing influence; but they were powerless to break the spirit or check the activity of Ivan Petrunkevich. Having ample wealth, he made a second home in his place of banishment, and renewed there the struggle for justice, freedom, and constitutional government. Impressed by his ability and character, the people of Tver soon elected him a member of their own provincial assembly; but the Minister of the Interior refused to recognize the validity of the election, and directed the governor of the province to use force, if necessary, in order to prevent him from taking his seat.

The next blow that the Government dealt him was through his family. While living as an exile in Tver, he made the acquaintance of the Countess Panin, a cultivated and attractive young woman who had been maid of honor to the Empress, who had married one of the Czar's Ministers, and who, by the latter's untimely death, had been left a widow with a young daughter. Mr. Petrunkevich and the Countess Panin fell in love, and after a short engagement were married. Some months later, when Mrs. Petrunkevich and her daughter were spending a few days at the Hotel Europe in St. Petersburg, General Gresser, the Chief of Gendarmes, called upon her, and, with many polite excuses, regrets, and assurances of respectful consideration, showed her an autograph letter from the Czar (Alexander III.), directing him to deprive her of the custody of her daughter and put the latter into a State-managed school known as the Ekaterinski Institute. In the opinion of the Czar, her marriage to Mr. Petrunkevich—a political agitator, if not a traitor—had shown her unfitness to bring up the child of Count Panin, and it had therefore become the duty of the Government to take charge of the young girl and superintend her education. The mother might visit her, at stated intervals, but she could not be allowed to train up as a "nihilist" the daughter of one of the Czar's chinovniks. Protests and remonstrances, of course, were of no avail; the weeping child was torn away from her mother; and Mrs. Petrunkevich had to go back alone to Tver and inform her husband that their daughter had been taken away from them by a personal order from the Czar.

After having been unjustly dismissed from one elective position and arbitrarily forbidden to take another; after having been banished from his home, put under police supervision, and deprived of the custody of his daughter, Mr. Petrunkevich would not have been wholly without excuse if he had joined the revolutionists; but, although a fighter, he was a man of coolness, self-restraint, and sane judgment, and it seemed to him that he could do more by carrying on the struggle within the limits of law than by entering into an illegal revolutionary conspiracy. As a law-abiding citizen he could at least exert personal influence; but as a conspirator he could hardly hope to accomplish anything, because the autocracy, at that time, was too strong to be overthrown by any revolutionary organization that it was possible to create.

When I returned from Siberia, in the spring of 1886, I brought letters of introduction to Mr. and Mrs. Petrunkevich, and spent three or four delightful days with them at their home in Tver. They were then in the prime of early manhood and womanhood, and seemed to me to represent, in culture and character, all that was best and most promising in the Russian society of that time. Their spacious library contained two or three thousand books, in Russian, German, French, and English, and in one large case, under a bronze bust of Dante, I noticed the works of Spencer, Darwin, Mill, Lubbock, Washington Irving, Sparks, Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, and eight or ten different biographies of George Washington. Mrs. Petrunkevich, who spoke English with almost perfect ease and fluency, was a woman of wide culture and great charm of manner, and at the time when I made her acquaintance she was collecting material for a life of Washington for Russian readers. In conversation, both husband and wife showed thorough and accurate knowledge of history and literature, and a keen appreciation of the world's best and latest thought; but I

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was most impressed, I think, by their fairness, self-restraint, and sanity of judgment in discussing Russian affairs generally and their own experience in particular. Mr. Petrunkevich was never unjust or extravagant even in his condemnation of the administrative methods which had made him an exile; and although his wife could not speak of her separation from her daughter without tears, she was far less bitter and revengeful than I should have been if an autocratic monarch had taken a child away from me.

When I bade Mr. Petrunkevich goodby, in 1886, there seemed to be little prospect that he would ever again be permitted to serve his country in a public capacity; but the policy of the Government in Russia often changes with a change of Ministers or a change of the Emperor's mind; and when the exile from Chernigoff was elected a member of the Tver provincial assembly for the second time, the Minister of the Interior allowed him to take his seat. He soon became prominent again as a bold but prudent and sagacious leader, and, with the aid and co-operation of such Liberals as Rodicheff, Miliukoff, Von Dervis, and Kuzmin-Korovaiyef, he made the Tver zemstvo so influential and formidable that in 1904 the Government summarily closed it by administrative order. By that time, however, the spirit of revolt was in the air, and repressive measures were of no avail.

On the 19th of November, 1904, Mr. Petrunkevich was elected vice-president of a council of one hundred and four zemstvo workers which assembled at a private house in St. Petersburg for the purpose of discussing national affairs. This assembly, which included one baron, two counts, six princes, seven marshals of the nobility, and forty-five presidents of zemstvo bureaus, was too influential and powerful to be arrested or forcibly dispersed, and it carried on its work, without molestation, for a period of three days. Mr. Petrunkevich served as vice-president, not only in this council, but in each of the two conventions of zemstvo men which met in Moscow in June and July, 1905; he was a member of the delegation which, on the 19th of July, presented an address to the Czar; he took an active part in the convention of Constitutional Democrats held in Moscow on July 22; and he was finally elected a member of the Imperial Duma by the Constitutional Democrats in the province of Tver. He is now the candidate of his party for the position of Prime Minister; and if the Czar be forced at last to give way to the Duma and appoint a Ministry responsible to that body, Mr. Petrunkevich will succeed Mr. Goremykin as Premier, and will thus become the responsible head of the Russian administration. Revolutions make many and surprising changes; but it would be hard to find in history a situation more extraordinary than that which would be created if Nicholas II. should be forced to appoint as Prime Minister the man whom his father had deprived of his position, his freedom, and his daughter, on the ground that he was a criminal and a traitor.

Mr. Petrunkevich made the opening address to the Duma when it assembled, and has since spoken in defense of the Jews, in opposition to woman suffrage, and in favor of an immediate settlement of the land question. His attitude toward the Czar and the bureaucracy on one side, and the people on the other, was clearly set forth in his speech before the zemstvo convention held in Moscow on the 19th of July, 1905. Speaking then of the reception given by the Czar to the delegation of which he was a member, he said: "Our words had little effect and failed to rouse the administration to new resolutions. All remained as before, except that the same old Trepoffs, Buluigins, and Ignatiefs were shuffled and shifted from one position to another, with the expectation, apparently, that if the musicians changed places the orchestra would play in tune. Had our hopes been fulfilled, the state of things would not be what it is. We were summoned to 'assist' the Czar. What right, then, had the Moscow chief of police to order us to disperse? The wall around the Czar is too solid, and we cannot count on reforms. We must rely on ourselves and on the people. The Government has created a situation which justifies revolution, and the revolution is at hand. Our duty now is to prevent it from taking

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a bloody form. Let us go to the people, deserve their confidence, and tell them all. It is to the people and not to the Czar that we should go with petitions." From present indications the appeal to the people will soon be made, and upon their response depends the fate of the Imperial House of Romanoff.

IMPRESSIONS OF A CARELESS TRAVELER

TEACHING THE ART OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

IT is a very well settled conviction that we are trying a new experiment in Porto Rico. We are trying to develop, in a community which has had a very inconsiderable share in its own government for centuries, the art of self-government; it is my impression that in this experiment we are having a very remarkable degree of success.

It is true that in getting this experiment under way there have been some irritating delays and some disagreeable and injurious failures. To speak of the last first, one or two incompetent officials have temporarily held office in Porto Rico, to the great injury of America's good name; for one corrupt, incompetent, or intemperate representative of America can do more harm in a month than a score of honest, sober, and self-denying representatives can counteract in a year. A provincial and narrow-minded selfishness kept up a tariff wall between the United States and Porto Rico for two years after it ought to have been taken down. The status of Porto Ricans has been left unsettled; they have been men without a country; under the decision of the United States Supreme Court not citizens and yet not foreigners, and so unable to become citizens by being naturalized. A bill is before Congress to declare them citizens, and it is to be hoped that the pressure of public business will not crowd it to one side, and that it will be passed before this letter reaches the eye of my readers. In estimating these evils it must be remembered that it is only eight years since Porto Rico became American territory; that its relation to the United States was entirely novel and could be authoritatively determined only by the Supreme Court of the United States; and that determining, first what it became by conquest, and then what it could and should be made by Congressional enactment, involved questions which could not be settled offhand. On the whole, we may congratulate ourselves that such good and such rapid progress has been made toward their final settlement.

In the main, these questions have been settled with justice and generosity. Porto Rico has been made a Territory of the United States. It has been afforded all the protection afforded by the United States to any of its States or Territories. Over it has been extended the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, and a United States District Court has been established on the island. A new system of Territorial Courts has been established, largely presided over by Porto Rican judges; and Spanish law has been modified so as to secure to Porto Rico the fundamental rights secured by the Bill of Rights to all American citizens. Absolute free trade has been established between Porto Rico and the United States, so that our markets are open to the Porto Ricans on equal terms with the inhabitants of all our States and Territories. The whole Federal income derived from the island, including all receipts both from imports and from internal revenue, is returned to the island, so that she receives the benefit of United States protection and pays no part of the United States expenses. We have sent to her as administrators admirable men. The Governor, Mr. Beekman

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Winthrop, has had experience in the Philippines as General Taft's private secretary; Mr. Regis H. Post, the Secretary of State, has had experience in New York State as a legislator; the Superintendent of Education was absent from the island, but I spent a morning with his first assistant. If I were to give my impressions of men, and especially if I were to give my impressions of the value to our country of the gracious tact and unaffected fellowship with the Porto Ricans manifested by Mrs. Winthrop, I should violate the proprieties of such a letter as this, and perhaps be accused by critical readers of flattery. These officials —and I believe it is true of all the American members of the Executive Council— are staying in Porto Rico at considerable personal sacrifice. In no case is the salary adequate to pay the cost of living as such officials must live, and most of them are drawing on private resources to supplement their salaries. Since I left Porto Rico the Federal Judge, the Hon. Charles F. McKenna, has found himself compelled to resign, largely because of the inadequacy of the salary. The presentation to him of an address of public appreciation on behalf of the Porto Rican bar, by one of its most distinguished leaders, last year, affords a gratifying evidence, not only to him and his friends, but also to all Americans whom he has represented in his introduction of Anglo-Saxon law and Anglo-Saxon methods to the Porto Rican people, that this difficult task has been so performed as to attach the island to its adoptive country.

The insular government is organized for the double purpose of developing the art of self-government in the community, and of protecting it from the blunders of self-government before that art has been acquired. There is a popular Assembly elected by what is practically manhood suffrage. There may be a property or educational qualification, but I believe there is none. There is an Executive Council, which performs both legislative and administrative functions; that is, it is at once a Senate and a Cabinet. This Executive Council is appointed by the President of the United States; a majority of its members are Americans, though the President is required by the law to appoint a certain proportion of Porto Ricans, and there is nothing to prevent him from appointing Porto Ricans exclusively. In fact, I believe the present Council is very nearly equally divided between Porto Ricans and Americans, the latter having a bare majority. No legislation is possible without the co-operation of both the Assembly and the Executive Council. Hence the United States cannot impose on the people of Porto Rico any law against the will of the popular Assembly, and the people cannot, in a moment of passion, prejudice, or provincial folly, enact a law against the judgment of the representatives of the United States Government. There has been a recent movement in Porto Rico to induce our Congress to change the organic law so as to make the Executive Council elective. So far as I can learn, it was initiated by local office-holders, and had only the mild support of the people. I am persuaded that it would be a great mistake for Congress to make the change. That there is no practical injustice or even political hardship in the present arrangement is evident from the fact that the Executive Council has never once divided on race lines. If it shall seem to be desirable to increase the power of Porto Ricans and decrease the power of United States officials in the insular government, this can easily be done by the President's appointing a majority of Porto Ricans on the Executive Council. If the experiment fails, the balance of power can then be returned to the Americans; if it succeeds, it will be easy to give that balance of power permanently to the Porto Ricans by then making the Council elective.

This experiment of guided and inspired self-government seems to be working exceedingly well. Here again I am giving only impressions derived from rapid observations extending over a part of two days. I can tell only what I saw. I had read much of the extreme poverty of the Porto Ricans, and expected here to see destitution at its worst. This did not appear to be the case. What poverty there is appears to be at least self-

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respecting. Here for the first time on our cruise we saw no beggary or quasi-beggary. No boys rowed out to our steamer to dive for coins thrown out to them. No beggars greeted us at the landing; none brought us for sale nuts from the trees or wild flowers from the fields. There were no naked children on the streets as in Trinidad, though it may have been due to the difference in the climate. Ragged garments were not in evidence. We rode fifteen or twenty miles out into the country in an automobile. The peasants' houses which we passed were thatched cottages, each containing only one or possibly two rooms, but they looked far better and generally were larger than were the analogous peasant houses seen in our ten-mile drive in Trinidad, and about them were far more evidences of thrift. There were fewer idlers to be seen than in either St. Thomas, Martinique, Barbados, or Trinidad; we had not then visited either Jamaica or Cuba. The streets were scrupulously clean. The police were a fine body of men in the uniform of rough riders; I imagined that they were a Federal military force till I was told that they were an insular police, wholly native and officered by natives. The general order on the island is so excellent that, as the Federal judge told me, at the last session of the United States District Court there was not a single indictment for crime; that is, the reader will understand, for crime against the Federal Government; offenses against the insular laws are brought before the insular courts.

In other respects the moral standards of the poorer classes appear to be advancing. Cock-fighting is disappearing. Marriage is coming into vogue, and the habit of living together as man and wife without a previous ceremonial appears to be going out of fashion. The American Roman Catholic Archbishop, as the result of a recent mission, performed upwards of five hundred wedding ceremonies, mostly for couples who had previously lived together without marriage. The poverty of the people may be imagined from a single significant incident. It is a custom in Porto Rico for the groom, at a certain point in the ceremony, to pour into the open hand of the bride a few coins, in value about a quarter of a dollar, I believe, as a symbolical expression of "With all my worldly goods I thee endow." These peasants had no money for this symbol. They managed among them to scrape up a little less than the customary amount; each bride, the ceremony ended, passed the coins to the next bridegroom; the whole five hundred were married with the one quarter of a dollar; and at the end the coins were handed to the Archbishop as his sole wedding fee. Twenty-five cents as the wedding fee for five hundred marriages I rather think breaks the record.

How far what I saw and learned of conditions in Porto Rico may be due to American occupation, how far to previous conditions, I have of course no adequate means of knowing. But I see no reason for supposing that the Spanish Government was essentially better in Porto Rico than in Cuba; the population, however, was apparently somewhat different. The last census shows in Porto Rico a native white population of 578,000, a mixed population of 304,000, a negro population of a little less than 60,000, and 7,690 Spaniards. The population of Africans and mixed bloods must be much larger in Martinique, Barbados, and Trinidad, and I judge also in Jamaica and Cuba. *Per contra*, more than half the population of the island are reported to be without any regular occupation—an industrial condition which does not conduce to self-government, or, for that matter, to good free government of any kind. The most striking indication, however, both of the American endeavor to develop the capacity for self-government and the measure of success already achieved is to be seen in the public school system of Porto Rico. But that I must leave to be considered in my next letter. L. A.

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THE HISTORY OF SCULPTURE AND PAINTING[1]

ONE may search for the origins of art, and such a study is valuable. More valuable, however, is the study of what each race, from the Egyptian to our own, adds of its individuality to the general history of art. For example, says Professor Gardner, the interesting thing in the Jewish and in the Greek religions and cults is not a particular myth which may belong to all peoples at a certain stage of civilization; the interesting thing is the particular addition which the Jews and the Greeks made as they emerged into a higher civilization.

When we concern ourselves, not so much with the foundations as with the additions, we find two great tendencies in both ancient and modern art—realism and idealism; coincidently, of course, we find the objective and the subjective. Realism is the attempt to mimic the details of visible things, according to Professor Gardner's apt definition, but idealism starts from the human mind, in contradistinction to realism, which starts from the facts of nature. Idealism, therefore, is more important than realism, because nothing, after all, is more interesting to man than man himself.

Greek art was essentially ideal. As Greek poetry and prose were expressed in a particular language, so the strokes of the chisel or brush formed another language, says the author of "A Grammar of Greek Art." To him the problem of Greek art is psychological: though no Greek sculptor or painter deliberately thought out any particular psychological process, he proceeded, nevertheless, on psychological lines.

Hence "A Grammar of Greek Art," expounded on these bases and illustrated by such a work as Dr. von Mach's "Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture," emphasizes the fact that Greek art is the true and immortal exponent of the human spirit. Dr. von Mach's book is intended to accompany a well-selected collection of productions of masterpieces in sculpture. It characterizes through them the Mycenæan Age and the age of archaic sculpture, the transitional period, the fifth century before Christ (Pheidias, Polykleitos, and others), the fourth century (Praxiteles, Skopas, and others), the Hellenistic period—those "autumn days of Greek sculpture"—finally, Græco-Roman, eclectic, and imitative sculpture, before coming to Etruscan and Roman national art. To this catalogue plan, illustrating over five hundred pictures, Professor Gardner's is a contrast. After describing the general character of Greek art, he tells us what Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle thought about art; then discusses the various departments of art. Architecture, of course, comes first, then sculpture. Under the latter head a particularly interesting chapter shows how far sculpture is related to political history.

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[1] *A Grammar of Greek Art.* By Percy Gardner, Litt.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.
A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture. By Edmund von Mach, Ph.D. The Bureau of University Travel, Boston.
The Ivory Workers of the Middle Ages. By A. M. Cust. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.
The Pavement Masters of Siena. By Robert H. Hobart Cust. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.
Leonardo da Vinci. By George Gronau. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75c.
Giotto. By F. Mason Perkins. The Macmillan Company, New York City. $1.75.
Andrea Mantegna. By Maud Cruttwell. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.
Giorgione. By Herbert Cook. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.
Correggio. By Estelle M. Hurll. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 75c., net.
Correggio. By Leader Scott. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.
Hans Holbein the Younger. By Ford Maddox Hueffer. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75c.
Thomas Gainsborough. By Sir Walter Armstrong. (New Edition.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75c., net.
Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. By Percy Cross Standing. Cassell & Co., New York. $1.50, net.
The English Water Colour Painters. By A. J. Finberg. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 75c., net.
The Scottish School of Painting. By William D. McKay. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.
The National Gallery, London: The Flemish School. By Frederick Wedmore. Frederick Warne & Co., New York. $1.25, net.
Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists. By E. B. Greenshields. Illustrated. The Baker & Taylor Company, New York. $2, net.
American Mural Painting. By Pauline King. Curtis & Cameron, Boston. $3.50.
How to Look at Pictures. By Robert Clermont Witt, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.40, net.

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Such books as the foregoing fit the student the better to understand the æsthetic and intellectual qualities of the Greek people, who formed perhaps the most remarkable natural aristocracy that ever existed. This natural aristocracy was certainly emphasized by the art of autonomous Greece. After the time of Alexander the Great, however, the Greeks' great powers were devoted not to a nation's but to the world's education. The three centuries which elapsed between the age of Alexander and the beginning of the Christian era were wonderful ages in half Hellenizing the non-Greek races. In this, sculpture played a prominent part, but the Romans seemed unable themselves to add to its progress. During the Empire it actually declined, as is shown by the reliefs on Constantine's arch. After the Empire's fall there was almost a complete cessation of sculpture save in carved ivory objects; certainly no continuous chain has survived in any other artistic production. During the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries diptyches—those ivory writing-tablets joined together by a hinge and decorated on the outside—were in great favor; they were preserved by the monks and ecclesiastics, either in their original form or changed to suit Christian iconography; we may follow art by means of these ivories until the beginning of the tenth century, the Byzantine golden age, and the Romanesque and Gothic periods.

Thus we do not always recognize the value which lies in the work of unknown artists and in departments hitherto little considered. Take that of pavements, for instance; the pavement of Siena Cathedral in particular, a work begun five and a half centuries ago, and always remaining a unique achievement of its kind. Sections of the pavement are really cartoons in marble, and some of the designs are instinct with life to an extraordinary degree. Who shall not say that this pavement had a distinct value for succeeding workers in sculpture and painting?

Coming to sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a recent helpful book is Dr. Gronau's "Leonardo da Vinci," as are those of the Messrs. Cust concerning the foregoing periods. As hardly before, we realize from Dr. Gronau's pages how Leonardo took the hard ness and even harshness of his master Verrocchio's forms and made them none the less firm, but graceful and tender, as the Greek had hardly been, just as in painting Leonardo knew how to transform the heaviness of the lines and color of Verrocchio's other pupil, Lorenzo di Credi, and make all supple and pliant. But fragmentary indeed, as this latest critic laments, is all we know of the external conditions under which Leonardo produced his great works of sculpture and painting; fragmentary, too, is all we possess of his artistic legacy.

Turning now to the domain of painting and to the great figure of the Gothic age in that department, Giotto, the world is the richer by another critical biography, lacking as it is on the anecdotal side. What Dante did in literature and the Pisani in sculpture, that did Giotto in painting. He marked the emancipation from Byzantine influence. The inner spiritual conceptions of the Latins and Byzantines had not been greatly improved upon by the work of the earliest Gothic artists, save in technique. With Giotto, however, individuality and naturalness triumphed over Byzantine woodenness. As Mr. Mason Perkins shows, the history of art affords no parallel to the tremendous transformation effected by Giotto in the field of painting during the period of his activity, not only in technical treatment, but as well in the spiritual significance.

The bridge between the Gothic and the Renaissance ages in Italian painting may be defined by the career of Mantegna, whose work was grounded by Squarcione, his master, in a kind of crabbed severity, and an almost sculptural cubic solidity. But Mantegna drew greater inspiration from Jacopo Bellini and Giotto, and accomplished a gradual transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance, from a tendency to a too great immobility to a freer treatment of the human form. This emergence into the Renaissance, as Miss Cruttwell points out, was marked both by a fresh buoyancy and a fearless bearing.

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In the age of the Renaissance in Italian painting there are no more characteristic names than those of Giorgione and Correggio. It is a great satisfaction to have a good account of Giorgione, and Mr. Cook's is specially suggestive and illuminative. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is that in which questions of authenticity are discussed. Aside from the paintings accepted by most critics as by Giorgione, Mr. Cook shows that cataloguers have deprived that painter of certain other of his pictures. If Giorgione was a great colorist, Correggio, in the opinion of some, was a greater. Both artists had a wonderful sensuous charm. Both were always affected by the purely human and curiously unaffected by the traditionally spiritual. As Leader Scott says of Correggio, "The genii that attend his pagan goddesses are precisely the same as the angels around the Madonna . . . the perfection of child-form and perfection of human flesh-painting, but utterly devoid of divinity." The biography is very popular in character, and does not seem to be accurate in all of its details. A biography intended for still younger readers is that by Miss Hurll. She calls attention to the curious fact that two artists of such opposed natures as Correggio and his great contemporary Michelangelo really had much in common in their methods. Both had a special appreciation of the decorative value of the nude, and found their supreme delight in bodily action; even their errors of exaggeration were somewhat similar. A divergence mentioned by Leader Scott, however, should be reaffirmed, that Correggio's art is less divided into epochs of style than was that of Michelangelo or any other master.

As, in European galleries, one finds the German room alongside the Italian, and goes from one to another with a feeling of satisfaction in the chance at variety, so one takes up Mr. Hueffer's biography of Holbein—a worthy addition to that attractive series, "The Popular Library of Art"—where the illustrations are surprisingly good considering the small-sized page. A striking feature of Mr. Hueffer's text is his comparison of Holbein with Dürer. Both stand between the Old World and the modern, between the old faith and the new learning. With Dürer the old age ends; with Holbein a new age begins, which was at once the age of mercantile expansion, of individual growth, and of philosophic doubt. Dürer stands for the great imaginers who went before—the Minnesingers, the Tristan poets, the great feudal upholders. As defining his country's great place in art, Holbein represented what Bach did in music—namely, completeness and thoroughness in getting out of a preceding epoch and in getting into our own. In such a movement Rembrandt and Velasquez may have excelled him, but few others.

Turning to England, we have to chronicle a new edition, and in very small size, of Sir Walter Armstrong's "Gainsborough," which has already come to be justly regarded as a standard biography. Of recent biographies of English painters, however, perhaps the most prominent is that of no English painter by birth—for Alma-Tadema was born in a little Dutch town, was early imbued with Greek and Latin classics as edited by the precise Dutch grammarians, formative influences which kept him always delineating the Corinthian in Greek art, whether in his academy days at Antwerp, his studio days in Brussels and Paris, or his life since 1871 in London. Laurens Alma-Tadema is now Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema. In his own field, despite anachronisms, he stands easily chief. None can see his pictures, however, without feeling that Sir Lawrence represents but one side of life—the æsthetic. No matter how dignified the subject, no matter how consummately painted, the pictures do not wholly satisfy because they are merely decorative; they voice neither emotion nor passion. Another small book in the "Popular Library of Art" describes English water-color painters from Gainsborough to Burne-Jones. Both in text and illustration the little book is extremely valuable, and we gain an additional conviction that the English are temperamentally disposed toward water-color painting. It may be supposed that this quality should also be shared by the Scots. But history shows a tendency quite in the other

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direction. It is questionable whether the Scottish school of painting was in this or any other way distinct enough from the English to account for Mr. McKay's excellent book. As an evidence of Scottish pride, however, it is well in place. A school, however, which was genuinely distinctive was the Flemish. In Mr. Wedmore's capital monograph emphasis is laid on the work of that school as shown in the National Gallery at London, where it is represented with abundance and symmetry. It is but a step from Flanders to Holland, but it is a long step from the Flanders of Jan van Eyck to the Holland of Jacob van Ruysdael. Mr. Greenshields has written a concise history of landscape painting from the awakening of art in the thirteenth century to the recent French impressionists, and in particular to the modern revival in Holland as illustrated by Mauve, James and Matthew and William Maris, Israels, Bosboom, and Weissenbruch. Taking into account any tendency toward realism, we also find in these moderns a strong sense of the ideal—the kind of idealism which, as Mr. Greenshields well says, is only realism in the intensest phase of veracity.

At a time when the so-called "Hudson River School" was flourishing in this country, William Morris Hunt introduced the ideas of Couture and Jean François Millet to Americans. The canvases of the great Frenchmen seemed novel and revolutionary at such a period in our art. Like Mr. La Farge, Hunt had worked under Couture, and, again like La Farge, introduced here a breadth, tone, and coloring unknown before. Alas that we should have only remnants of Hunt's work! In the history of American mural painting the new ideas and ideals then introduced may be seen, whether at the Albany Capitol, the Boston Public Library, Trinity Church, Boston, the Appellate Court Building, New York, the Library of Congress at Washington, or the Art Building at Bowdoin College. In the galaxy of names distinguished in the department of American mural painting, Mr. La Farge's stands out with peculiar distinctness. He not only revived the art of stained glass in this country, he seems almost the first of American painters to have as remarkable a sense of decoration as is that of Mr. Sargent in versatility and expression, of Mr. Abbey in picturesqueness, and of Mr. Henry Oliver Walker in true poetic sentiment and elevation of feeling.

And this brings us to the conviction that we need to be better equipped than ever in looking at pictures. We may be by following Mr. Witt's suggestions. His book makes no attempt to be original. It is intended for those who have no special knowledge of pictures; it will, therefore, make no appeal to the artist. But it should influence many readers of more or less exquisite sensibilities, making more attractive than ever the appeal of the best in painting to the satisfaction of our æsthetic longings.

Comment on Current Books

The Balkan Trail No paper has a more distinguished reputation for its correspondents from foreign countries than has the London "Times." Mr. Frederick Moore has been the correspondent of the "Times" in Turkey, Bulgaria, Servia, and Albania. He has seen at close range a great deal of the people of the Balkan peninsula, and he has the knack of describing his impressions in concise and vivid language. His book is a real help to a better understandlng of countries now in a particularly interesting phase of their political and religious development. (The Balkan Trail. By Frederick Moore. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.50.)

Buddhism, Islam Brief, compact, and clearly written statements of the fundamentals of these two faiths. (Islam, Buddhism. By Annie H. Small. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 40c., net, per volume.)

A Desk Book of Errors in English If the every-day people who help to make the language would only keep this little book on their desks, there would be fewer errors in speech and a less racy vernacular. Unfortunately, in many cases

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they have no desks and not much use for books. The man, for instance, who says "I'm broke," and is here advised to say "I'm broken," has probably already parted with his desk and would be quick to dispose of this handy volume if he owned it. Philologists are prone to overlook the fact that the common people have a sense of humor and deliberately employ phrases that are attractive because of their fun and pith even though they violate the rules of precise speech. Unless we are the makers of grammars or dictionaries we all tire of oft-repeated words and phrases, and like to invent or use something new. When the novelty is fairly denominated "slang," its use is admittedly a habit that should be kept within due bounds. Such books as this are useful helps in restraint. We look in vain here for the now pretty well established term "graft," but there is a fairly complete list of more objectionable words and phrases, with generally judicious comment. (A Desk Book of Errors in English. By Frank H. Vizetelly, F.S.A. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. 75c., net.)

The Feeling for Nature

Literature, especially poetry, is generally the most intimate medium of a nation's feelings, and the literature of an entire age the most intimate medium of the civilized world's feelings. A peculiarly interesting age of the world's development was the mediæval era—the Middle Ages. It is the good fortune of all specially interested in that era, as of all interested in discussions of nature, that a book appears which seeks to embrace the æsthetic and mental growth of the Middle Ages in a particular department, and it is also fortunate that this work has been prepared by one who has had experience in preparing a similar volume—the author of "The Development of the Feeling for Nature Among the Greeks and Romans." Ample quotations, pertinent notes, and a good index give point to Herr Biese's discussions of such general subjects as "Christianity and Paganism," "Christianity and Germanism," "The Naïve Feeling at the Time of the Crusades," and the "Individual and Sentimental Feeling of the Renaissance;" concerning such special subjects as "Roman Catholic Mystics," "Shakespeare's Sympathy for Nature," "The Discovery of the Beauty of Landscape in Painting," "Humanism, Rococo and Pigtail," and the consequent "Symptoms of a Return to Nature," and then concerning that other extreme "The Sensitiveness and Exaggeration of the Elegiac Idyllic Feeling," followed as it was by the awakening of more unaffected feeling for the romantic. (The Development of the Feeling for Nature in the Middle Ages. By Alfred Biese. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.)

Lord Curzon in India

No stranger to India was Mr. George Curzon, the brilliant author of "Russia in Central Asia," "Persia and the Persian Question," and "Problems of the Far East," a traveler who had already visited India four times when, in 1898, he was appointed Viceroy of India and gazetted Lord Curzon of Kedleston. The seven years between 1898 to 1905 are well described and interpreted in Lord Curzon's two hundred and fifty speeches, for we must believe that he willingly lost no proper opportunity of taking the public into his confidence—certainly he has left the Indian peoples better informed as to their ruler's aims than they have ever been. A selection of sixty from the Viceroy's speeches is now published in an attractive-looking volume, together with an introduction, explanatory notes, and a fairly ample index, all by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who has not only given a synopsis of the Curzon administration, but has really provided inquirers with a key to the problems of modern India—famine, plague, irrigation, education, taxation, currency, the frontier policy, and, above all, the interior policy as complicated by the Native States. The book is therefore really a handbook of the recent history and government of India, and is thus indispensable to those who would understand how England has developed her vast dependency. (Lord Curzon in India, 1898–1895. By Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.)

Monotheism in Africa

It has always been a question as to how much the present culture of the various African countries is due to the monotheistic doctrines laid down by Moses, Christ, and Mohammed, and how much to the native polytheism. The author of "Les Précurseurs de la Réforme," and of other valuable volumes and pamphlets, in his latest publication appeals specially to Frenchmen, for the interesting discussions cover the north and center of Africa, regions either under the actual protection of France or at least in her sphere of influence. (L'Islamisme et le Christianisme en Afrique. Par Gaston Bonet-Maury. Librairie Hachette et Cie, Paris.)

Panama to Patagonia

Every day brings some additional fact to emphasize the increasing political and commercial importance to this country of a better understanding with the various countries of South America. During the past six months this has been true particularly of the coun-

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tries on the east coast. It is likely to be no less true of those on the west coast. In that event, or in any event, a book is of value which describes the unsuspected commercial and industrial possibilities in the diversion of trade routes along that coast, especially setting forth the significance of the harbor and other public improvements already initiated by the various Governments as a consequence of the Panama Canal, and, indeed, in anticipation of it. Such a book is Mr. Pepper's "Panama to Patagonia." Its author is a well-known newspaper man, who has traveled extensively in the Latin-American republics; he is also a member of the Permanent Pan-American Railway Committee. While presenting exact and detailed information for those who may travel or settle in Panama or along the west coast of South America, the author's aim, we believe, has been to give to the very much larger number of people who remain at home an intimate view of places, scenes, and conditions, so that they may follow with more intelligent and vivid interest all the phases of the Canal's development, and as well the development of South America from Panama to Patagonia. In the fulfillment of this aim Mr. Pepper has analyzed the development of existing populations, the bases of immigration, national tendencies, political institutions, and governmental policies. After this he indicates the opportunities of pioneers and promoters from this country for commercial expansion, calling special attention to the new relation of the west coast countries of South America to the United States and the reciprocal influence of the latter on them, not omitting also to describe the common relation to Europe. Mr. Pepper's very natural conviction is that the influence of the Panama Canal will make powerfully both for the industrial development and for the political stability of the Latin-American republics. (Panama to Patagonia. By Charles M. Pepper. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $2.50, net.)

Paris and Brussels

The latest additions to the excellent Mediæval Towns Series are from the accomplished pens of Messrs. Thomas Okey and Ernest Gilliat-Smith. Mr. Okey's previous volume on Paris is an earnest of what this one represents. It is not too much praise to say that the book supplements the information contained in Baedeker, and supplies as well a background for the greater enjoyment of such volumes as Theodore Child's "The Praise of Paris," Richard Whiteing's "Paris of To-Day," or Amicis's "Ricordi di Parigi"—indeed, the intending visitor to Paris could hardly have a more valuable *vade mecum* than Mr. Okey's little volume. Practically and proportionately the same may be said of Mr. Gilliat-Smith's "Brussels." The subject matter belongs with peculiar appropriateness to the Mediæval Towns Series, for no quarter of Europe, we think, is more thickly studded with mediæval towns than that embraced by the old Duchy of Brabant and the old county of Flanders, constituting the present Flemish provinces of Belgium, and of course this is largely centered in old Brussels. We note with satisfaction the notes which Mr. Gilliat-Smith has appended concerning architecture and painting. Thus these two volumes are worthy additions to a library of books which includes such volumes as Mr. Gardner's "Florence," Mr. Norwood Young's "Rome," Mr. Headlam's "Nuremberg," and Mr. Gilliat-Smith's "Bruges," now appropriately followed by his "Brussels." (The Story of Paris. By Thomas Okey. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2. The Story of Brussels. By Ernest Gilliat-Smith. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.)

School History of the United States

Two years ago The Outlook expressed the opinion that Mr. Elson's one-volume history of the United States was fairly comparable in excellence to Green's "Short History of the English People." An equally favorable opinion may be expressed of his history for schools, a new work, not an abridgment of its predecessor. Its record of our National development neglects no phase of progress—social, industrial, political, or literary—and takes note of the underlying causes at work, as well as of the changes wrought. In subjects that have been hotly controverted its temper is eminently fair and judicial. Designed for young people in their teens, many of their elders will find it both interesting and instructive. Foot-notes are often skipped, but Mr. Elson's are so full of anecdotes as to escape neglect. (School History of the United States. By Henry William Elson. The Macmillan Company, New York. 90c.)

The Spanish Main

Who does not love a rattling sea story? Who does not like to have it describe those long-ago buccaneers of the Spanish Main whose age now seems almost mythic, an age when everything seemed possible and believable? Such are the accounts, albeit sober enough, in Mr. Masefield's book. It is a book light to the hand, appropriately bound, well printed and illustrated with facsimiles of quaint old portraits, prints, and maps, and thus the more inviting to the reader. Drake's voyage to the West Indies, the English forays

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on and off the Isthmus of Darien, the old-time English and Spanish ships and the old-time English and Spanish sailors, the road to Panama, the Spanish rule in Hispaniola—are these not subjects about which we should read with equal entertainment and instruction, now that we are ourselves increasingly interested in those parts of the world? (On the Spanish Main. By John Masefield. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.50.)

Sebastian Ralé The noblest victim of border warfare between the English settlers in Maine and their Indian neighbors was the Jesuit missionary Father Ralé, who was cruelly slain in an attack upon his mission at Norridgewock in 1724. In the course of nearly thirty years' residence among the Indians as their tribesman he had won their hearts and gained them to his Church. To his influence over them the colonists ascribed savage forays, which were probably reprisals for wrongs, and set a price upon his head. Historic justice to his memory is done by this monograph, accompanying which are some letters of Ralé which throw light upon his environment, his work, and his character. A characteristic memorial of him is preserved in the Harvard Library—his "Dictionary of Abnaki," the Indian tongue. (Sebastian Ralé: A Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century. By John Francis Sprague. The Heintzemann Press, Boston.)

The Spirit of Rome Certain cities leave upon the sojourner an indelible impression of what we call atmosphere. Such cities need not necessarily be great in point of size, but they must be great in point of character. Seville, Nuremberg, Budapest, Florence, and Rome—to take a few names at haphazard—may be mentioned as such cities. Of the last named this sentiment is especially true, but it does not always find place in the guide-books and volumes of description which have been written about the Eternal City. The sentiment is rather to be found in novels like Hawthorne's "Marble Faun," Matilda Serao's "La Conquista di Roma," or in such a discursive, reminiscential, journal-like volume as "Vernon Lee" (Violet Paget) now puts forth. She was brought up in Rome from the age of twelve to that of seventeen, but she did not return there for many years afterward. When she did, she discovered it anew. She was, of course, aware of all the interesting Roman sites and most of the interesting details, but she now discovered the peculiar meaning of Rome to her thoughts and feelings, the sensation which must come to every serious traveler who returns thither, namely, that mixture of familiarity and of astonishment—astonishment because of the reality overwhelmingly borne in upon one that Rome is, after all, utterly different from everything else, and that therefore we are and must be in different relations to it. Fortunately, "Vernon Lee" does not attempt to fit Rome into any definite perspective or see it in the color of one mood. For this Rome is too multitudinously alive, and, as the author says, the more so for its occasional air of death. Hence we have in this valuable little volume, well printed and agreeably light to the hand, just those fugitive notes which must have been written on the spot, day after day, year after year, because the writer could not help it—because, indeed, she was not so much writing in her journal what she thought about Rome as what Rome itself was saying to her. (The Spirit of Rome: Leaves from a Diary. By Vernon Lee. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

The Voice of the Street American in its subject and in its style, in most of its defects as well as its merits, this story will appeal very differently to different readers. It recounts the history of a street boy who becomes a famous singer. The interest centers in the struggle for control of the boy between two forces. On one side is "the street"—the fascination of the gambling spirit and the allurement of life at its tensest. On the other side is the steady attraction of a wholesome ambition reinforced by love. Music, dice, humble home life, theft, toil, and sorrow all play their part in shaping the life whose fortunes constitute the narrative. The defects of the novel are obvious. Though there is never relief from movement, there is often a drag in the progress of the tale; in other words, the reader is continually being whirled in a circle. The tense, abrupt style, not infrequently elliptical, is appropriate to the portions describing "the street," but is obtrusively out of place in the portrayal of the simple home life of the good old German fiddler who makes the boy his protégé. Vigor, directness, and the absence of mock sentimentality, however, weigh heavily on the other side. The book, moreover, has a distinct interest as an intelligent study of some of the qualities which the immigrants (especially the German, the Italian, and the Hungarian) are making to the National character of America. The illustrations, by the way, are by an Italian immigrant. (The Voice of the Street. By Ernest Poole. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. $1.50.)

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Letters to The Outlook

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

In line with its policy of presenting all the facts while clearly stating its own editorial view, The Outlook will doubtless print the following items concerning the campaign for the enfranchisement of women in Oregon.

The significant point is that, under the initiative and referendum law of Oregon, the campaign is a continuing one. Within a fortnight after the election of June 4 a mass-meeting of women who desire the ballot was held in Portland for the purpose of electing officers for the period preceding the next biennial general State election in June, 1908, when the amendment which failed to carry this year will be resubmitted.

In States in which there is no initiative and referendum law, there has always been an interval of several years after the defeat of an amendment conferring the franchise upon women before the legislature could be induced to submit it again to the vote of the people. In Oregon, however, the amendment can be submitted at every biennial general State election, provided only that its friends duly file the required petition six months before the election.

For any legislative innovation this facility for carrying on a continuous campaign affords important advantages. Recent experience, fresh in the minds of all, renders it easy to avoid mistakes which once contributed to defeat. Arguments brought forward by opponents at the last moment before the election can, in the new campaign, be met from the beginning and made to serve an educational purpose. Most important of all, an issue which is kept continuously before the voters comes to be familiar and loses the quality of sudden innovation. In the long run, it arrives at being discussed on its merits.

The amendment to the State Constitution submitted on June 4 to the voters of Oregon provided for the full enfranchisement of all women in that State on the same terms as men, including the right to vote for the President of the United States.

There are approximately 100,000 voters in Oregon. The total vote cast for and against the amendment was 83,977. Of these, 36,902 were for and 47,075 were against it—an adverse majority of 10,173. If, therefore, 5,087 voters had changed sides in favor of the amendment, the women of Oregon would now be voters on the same terms as their sisters in Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado.

Nine counties gave each a majority for the amendment, viz.: Coos, Curry, Harney, Josephine, Lane, Lincoln, Tillamook, Umatilla, and Union. The largest adverse majority was in Multnomah County (the city of Portland), and was 4,456.

This election constituted the third popular vote upon the enfranchisement of women in Oregon. In 1884, 11,223 votes were cast in its favor. In 1900 the number was 26,265. In June, 1906, the favorable votes were 36,902. Thus more than one-third of the total possible votes in Oregon were this year cast in favor of the amendment. The number of voters so indifferent as to cast no vote either for or against it was about 16,000.

To induce these 16,000 indifferent voters to cast their ballot in favor of the enfranchisement of women is, therefore, the present task of its advocates. The amendment received the indorsement of the State Grange, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the State Federation of Labor.

On the other hand, the Brewers' and Liquor Dealers' Association sent out to all retail liquor dealers a circular-letter saying: "It will take fifty thousand votes to defeat woman suffrage. There are two thousand retailers in Oregon. That means that every retailer must himself bring in on election day twenty-five votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman, and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win."

The retail liquor dealers appear to have responded with zeal to this appeal.

The circulation of the petition in Portland and in those counties in which the friendly vote was least kills two birds with one stone. It affords an excellent means of propaganda, since every signer must be a registered voter at the last election, and opponents can thus be approached in person and in friendly conversation with arguments in favor of signing the petition now and voting for the amendment in June, 1908.

Moreover, any disposition to count out votes favorable to the amendment can best be checked by filing large numbers of signatures to the petition for submission of the amendment, thus showing, in advance, how public opinion stands in each county.

Briefly summed up, the situation is this,

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that the votes cast at three elections upon this important subject show a conspicuous growth in favor of the enfranchisement of women in Oregon; and that the friends of the amendment regard these elections as links in a chain which will be carried forward until the goal is reached.

FLORENCE KELLEY,
Vice-President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.
New York City.

CLERICALISM IN ENGLAND

Referring to the editorial on "Clericalism in England," in The Outlook of June 9, there are some points on which I should like to get information. You say that Mr. Birrell's bill "provides for 'simple Biblical teaching' in the public schools, and permits 'denominational teaching' outside of school hours at the expense of those who demand it." Also, "In over six thousand parishes the Church of England has had the privilege of teaching its distinctive doctrines in the one school supported by the taxpayers which all children in the village are legally bound to attend."

I would ask: 1. Are Nonconformist pupils "legally bound to attend" Anglican worship or Anglican classes in Christian doctrine? 2. Are there districts in England where Anglicans and Nonconformists have separate schools, on an equal footing as to Government aid? 3. Are there districts in which Nonconformists are so largely in the majority that Anglicans are not numerous enough to have schools of their own? 4. In such places—if there are any such—are not Anglicans under a disadvantage similar to that suffered by Nonconformists in the parishes you refer to? 5. Granting that it would be a grave injustice to force Nonconformist children to attend religious exercises which their parents disapprove of, would it not be quite as unjust to force Anglican or Catholic children to attend religious exercises which their parents disapprove of? 6. If Nonconformist taxpayers have a right to State-aided schools which teach such religion as Nonconformists approve of, have not Anglican and Catholic taxpayers a right to State-aided schools which teach such religion as Anglicans or Catholics, as the case may be, approve of? A. B.
Providence, Rhode Island.

[1. Where compulsory education is the rule, and the only school is a school in which Anglican doctrine is taught, children are practically obliged to be present at such teaching. The law, indeed, permits parents who conscientiously object to this to get their children excused. But in the rural districts it is generally *not safe* for the many who depend on the patronage of wealthy Anglicans and the good will of the parsons to take advantage of the "conscience clause" of the law. Besides these are the many who are indifferent. The grievance, as Americans would regard it, is that religious *doctrines* dear to only a part—in fact, a minority—of the people are propagated at the expense of all.

2. There are such districts. The only Nonconformists who have Government-aided schools under the existing law are the Wesleyans, and their schools are comparatively few. Where "Board [of Education] Schools" exist, principally in the towns and cities, Nonconformists generally send their children to these. These correspond to our public schools, and under the existing law have the simple Biblical teaching, which is the only religious teaching that the new bill proposes to recognize in Government-aided schools.

3. There are such districts, especially in Wales, where Anglicans count about one in ten.

4. No, because Nonconformists do not demand that their peculiar doctrines shall be taught at public expense, as the Anglicans do. In Wales, for instance, the so-called "disadvantage" of Anglicans is not that Nonconformity is taught in public schools—for it is not taught—but that Anglicanism is not permitted to be taught.

5. The "conscience clause" of the existing law is retained in the proposed bill, for the benefit of those who object to simple Biblical teaching, and will probably not be handicapped by the petty persecution that now hinders many from the benefit of it (see No. 1).

6. This question is based on a fallacy. The fallacy consists in using "religion" in two different senses. The "religion which Nonconformists approve of" in public school teaching is religion pure and simple, *minus* the peculiar doctrines of any sect of Christians. The religion which Anglicans or Catholics wish taught in public schools is religion pure and simple, *plus* the peculiar doctrines of the Anglican or Catholic Church. Unless Anglicans or Catholics can demonstrate their right to have their peculiar doctrines taught at public expense, it certainly does not violate any right of theirs to limit the religious teaching in public schools to the religion pure and simple which they are supposed to hold in common with Christians of every name.—THE EDITORS.]

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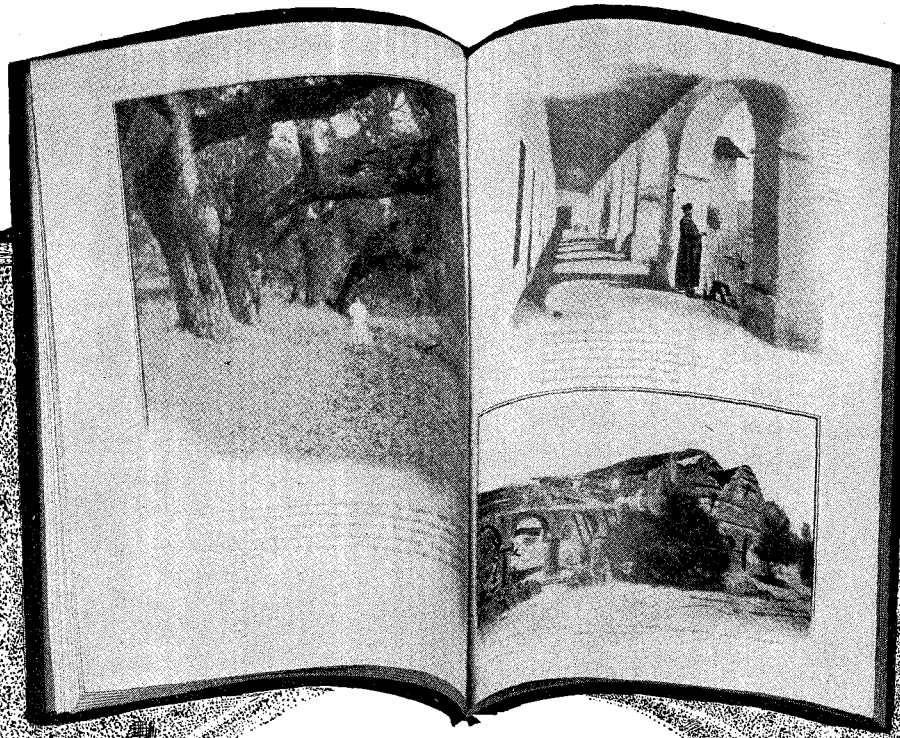

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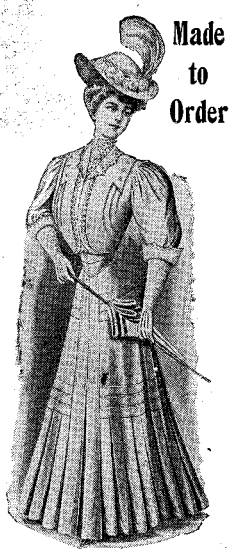

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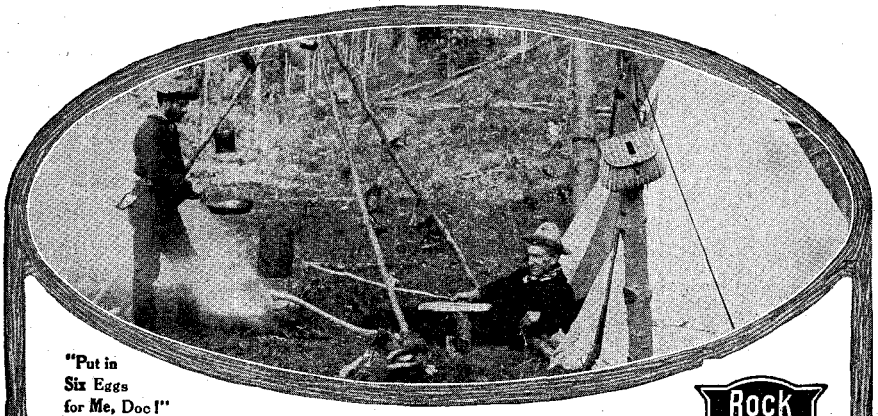

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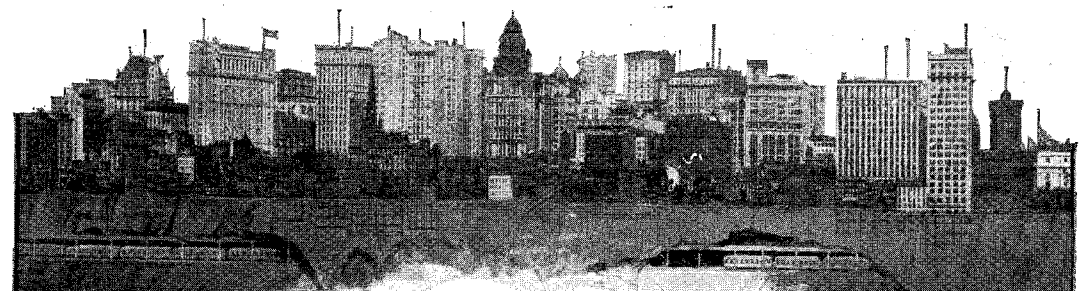

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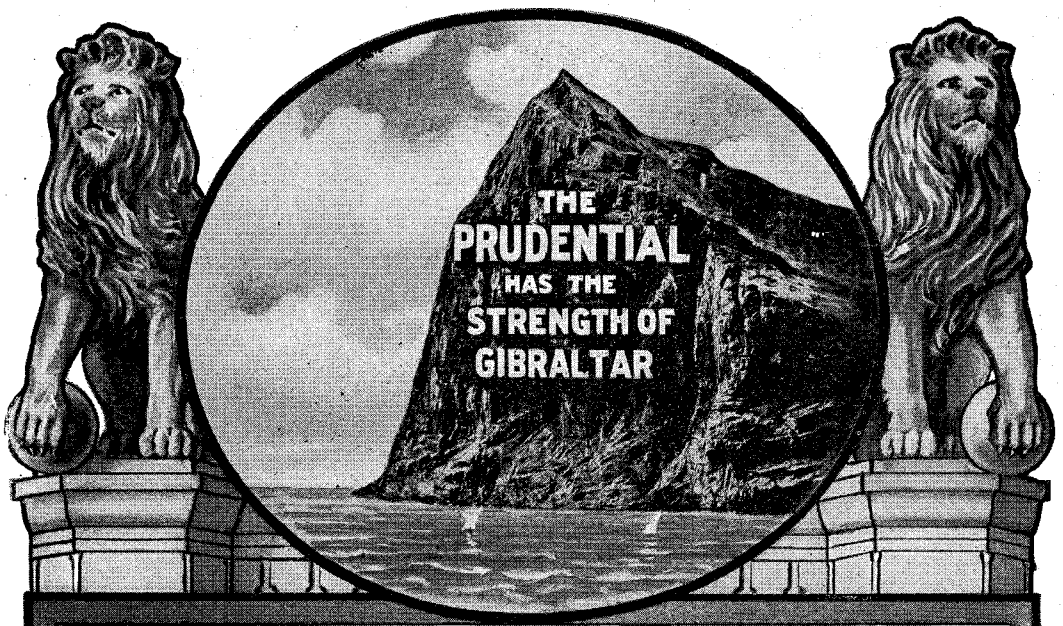

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